NAPOLEON

EXTRACTS RELATING TO HIS LIFE AT ST. HELENA

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NAPOLEON'S LIFE AT ST. HELENA.

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Extracts from the 'Times' and 'Morning Chronicle' 1815–1821 relating to Napoleon's Life at St. Helena.

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Extract from the 'Morning Chronicle,' October 18, 1815.

AUTHENTIC PARTICULARS OF BONAPARTE.

[From an Officer on board the Northumberland.]

His Majesty's ship Northumberland,
lat. 34·53, *long.* 13·45, *August* 22, 1815.

As every circumstance relative to the man we are now conveying from Europe may prove acceptable, I embrace this opportunity of detailing some anecdotes of him, and also of contradicting some of the assertions that have been circulated respecting him. Among the latter is the one, that he took possession of Captain Maitland's cabin the moment he came on board the Bellerophon, refusing that gallant officer even a corner of it to sleep in. Previous to Bonaparte coming on board, Captain Maitland had determined to give up his own cabin, and part of the ward-room cabins were to be appropriated for the *ladies* who were expected. Equally unfounded are the statements that Bonaparte walked the quarter-deck furiously, with his hands behind him, and talking to himself; as also, that he asked if the commissaire (purser of the ship) was not a rogue.

Conversing one day about the siege of St. Jean d'Acre, Bonaparte observed—'That when Sir Sidney Smith was there, he distributed several Proclamations among the French troops, which made them *waver a little.*' In order to obviate this, he published an Order, in which he 'asserted that the English commodore was *mad*, and it concluded with prohibiting all communication with him. This, he added, 'had the desired effect, and so enraged Sir Sidney, that he sent him a challenge to single combat, which was declined,' and Napoleon returning at the same time for answer, that 'when he brought the Duke of Marlborough to meet him, he would accept it.' He stated most positively 'that he *would then* have taken Acre, IF THE ENGLISH HAD NOT TAKEN HIS BATTERING TRAIN,' and added, in English and French, 'had it not been for you English, I would have

been Emperor of the East, but wherever a ship could get I was always sure to find some of the English to oppose me.'

He spoke of the Invasion of England as his firm determination, and said that he intended to have landed as near Chatham as possible, and to have dashed at once for London. He admitted the great probability of his not succeeding, and that he might have been killed in the attempt. That this scheme was not put into effect, he says, was owing to Admiral Villeneuve not obeying the orders he received. He was particularly inquisitive as to the climate of England, and said that the cause of so many suicides was the humidness of the atmosphere.

The anxiety of the English to see him when on board the Bellerophon flattered his vanity in the extreme, and he would frequently stand at the gangway purposely to afford the gaping and wondering multitude an opportunity of beholding his person. At this time he had invariably a spy-glass in his hand, which he frequently used in observing the spectators. There was always a great number of well-dressed females, many of them very elegant in their persons, and they never failed to attract his particular attention, and he would not fail to notice to those near him how forcibly he gazed on their beauties.

He appeared greatly pleased with the beauty and elegance of our fair countrywomen, and was always wishing to know their names, families, and any circumstance that could be communicated to him concerning them.

He took particular notice one evening of a young lady who was very close to the ship, and, as usual, inquired what was her name and family. He was informed she was a Miss B——n, daughter of General B. He bowed and took off his hat, exclaiming several times, with peculiar emphasis, to those near him, '*Oh, charmante!*' This admiration of the females was not confined to Bonaparte, for all his officers were equally delighted; and they expressed their opinion of the superiority of the English women over any they had before seen.

Bonaparte gives great credit to our Infantry and our Artillery. He said, 'the British Infantry is now what the French was ten years back, and that the Cavalry is greatly inferior to the Infantry in everything but appearance.' He found great fault with the construction of the bits, which he says 'are so bad that the men cannot manage their horses.' Bertrand and the others assented to the truth of this observation.

One day Bonaparte was speaking of the Duke of Wellington, and observed, 'he did not expect he would have given him battle, but that he would have retreated, and waited for the Russians and other reinforcements, in which case,' he says, 'he must have been finally beaten; but that he was extremely happy to find Lord Wellington did not decline the combat,'—adding, that 'he made quite *certain* of obtaining the *victory*.' He also said, 'That he knew of the advances of the Prussians, but that he did not regard it of much consequence; and that he was betrayed by some of his Generals.' He further said that, 'the universal consternation among his troops taking place at a time of *darkness*, he was not able to rally the fugitives *by shewing his person to them, which he is convinced would have effectually restored order had it been daylight; but that, in consequence of its being dark, he was borne away by the crowd, and obliged to fly himself.*'

On being asked why he had not given himself up to Austria, he

replied, 'What! give myself up to a nation without laws, honour, or faith? No: the moment I had got there I should have been put into a dungeon, and never heard of more. In giving myself up to the English, I have given myself up to a nation with honourable and just laws, which afford protection to every person.'

At another time he remarked on the singularity of Mr. Whitbread's suicide, but made no further observation on that melancholy event.

One day he observed, he 'ought to have *died* the day he entered Moscow, as ever since he had experienced a continual series of disasters.' He further observed, he 'would have made Peace at Dresden, and also afterwards, if it had not been for the advice of the Duke of Bassano, who persuaded him against it.

The invasion of Spain, Bonaparte says, he undertook at the special desire of Talleyrand, who was continually urging him to that measure, invariably pointing out the absolute necessity of its being undertaken, and, if possible, accomplished at all hazards.

It is astonishing the detestation in which Fouché is held by Bonaparte and all his followers, who never mention his name but with the greatest contempt; and they say, 'It was entirely owing to this Creature that Bonaparte abdicated in favour of his Son; and that he was continually carrying on a clandestine correspondence with the Allies.'

The respect that is still paid to Bonaparte by his suite is very great; as an instance I shall mention that he was one day playing at chess with Montholon, who is by far the best player of the two, Bonaparte had evidently the worst of the game, when Montholon made purposely an improper movement, which was speedily observed by the former, and he ultimately was the victor. Montholon praised the superior skill of his master (as he termed him), and declared himself 'not competent to encounter such an excellent player again;' at which Bonaparte was highly pleased. At this game, or Vingt-un, Bonaparte generally passes his time; but was much hurt when the Admiral insisted that neither of these games, nor any other, should be played on Sundays.

He has been very inquisitive as to the climate, &c., of St. Helena, and declares that he shall be more comfortable there than in Austria. Temperance, he says, is the only means of preserving health, and adds, that he never was ill but twice in his life, and on one of those occasions only applied a blister. Montholon's wife has been unwell, and he inquired of the Surgeon how she was. He said, rather better, but that he thought the fear of the tropical climates preyed on her mind. Bonaparte replied nearly in the words of Shakespeare, 'Doctor, thou cannot administer to a mind diseased.' The force with which this remark was made was observed by every one near, and apparently related to his own feelings.

Bertrand and his wife are continually with Bonaparte, and the whole are more reconciled to their future destiny.

Sir George Cockburn and Bonaparte are on excellent terms, as he is, indeed, with all the Officers of the ship; they frequently play at cards, &c., in which occasionally they have the advantage of each other.

Hitherto our passage has been very favourable, and no particular occurrence has taken place since we sailed from Torbay.

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'Morning Chronicle,' October 25, 1815.

HOUSE AND FURNITURE FOR BONAPARTE.

The House.

The framework for the house is nearly completed at Woolwich. The front is in the Grecian style. It is about 120 feet in length, containing fourteen windows and a fine open corridor. The depth of the building is about 100 feet, with a back corridor, almost making the whole structure square. It is two stories high, and will have an elegant cottage appearance. The ground floor of the right division of the house contains Bonaparte's apartments. In the centre of this wing is his drawing-room, which, as well as the other apartments for his accommodation, is about 30 feet in length, by a breadth of 20. This proportion runs through the whole. Next is his dining-room, with an adjoining library, behind which is a capacious billiard-room. His bedroom, dressing-room, and bath are, of course, connected. The left division of the edifice contains apartments for the officers of his suite. The rear comprises the servants' and store-rooms. The kitchen is detached from the regular building, and yet perfectly convenient to the dining-room, without communicating any offensive fumes to the principal range of rooms. This is of no small value in a sultry climate. The hall is plain, and merely furnished with seats. The corridor will furnish a cool and shaded promenade.

The Furniture.

The drawing-room is coloured with various shades of green. The curtains are Pomona green, made of light silk taboret, bordered with full green velvet, and edged with a gold-coloured silken twist or gimp to correspond. The green silk forms a fine ground for the border,—and the style in fitting up the upholstery is simple: the curtain rings are concealed under a matted gold cornice, enclosing the rod on which they run. The supporters are gilt and carved patras, and the green velvet folds form into the architecture of the room by falling in straight lines at each side of the windows, where they draw smooth and compact, without interrupting the progress of those two useful but often excluded properties of nature—air and light. The centre table is formed out of one piece of exquisitely veined British oak, polished in the very highest degree of perfection. The pier table is of the same timber and quality, inlaid with a slab of the *verd antique* marble of Mona, from Mr. Bullock's quarry at Anglesea, and surmounted by a pier-glass, with a frame of buhl and ebony. The chairs in this apartment correspond with the tables. There are also two Greek sofas and foot-stalls; these are enriched with *ormulu* ornaments. These carpets are of the Brussels texture, in shades of olive, brown, and amber; colours finely calculated to harmonise with the tone of decorations in the room. The walls are of light tints of sage green, with ornamented panels in Arabesque gold. The colours, it will be observed, ascend from the darker shades upon the ground, until

they are lost in the cream colour of the ceiling. This produces a harmony in the decorations which is in the highest degree elegant. One of the drawing-room recesses is filled up by a pianoforte, and a few tasteful chandeliers and candelabras are occasionally introduced with a pleasing effect.

The Dining-room.

A neatly furnished table, supported by substantial claws and pillars, capable of being divided to suit a company of from six to fourteen. The side-board intended for the Imperial plate is of a new form, pure and simple in its construction and decoration. The wine-cooler is of bronze and rich wood, and shaped after the fashion of the Greek Bacchanalian vases. The chairs are plain. The curtains are of lavender-coloured silk lace and cord. The carpet and walls are shaded with the same colours, falling into blues, with a black and brown relief; the latter, of various hues, pervade the room.

The Library.

This apartment is fitted up in the Etruscan style, with a number of dwarf book-cases. The curtains are of a new material, composed of cotton, which produces the appearance of fine cloth. The library table is particularly elegant, and mechanical ingenuity has been laboriously applied to furnish it with desks and drawers, suited to every convenience of study accommodation.

The Sitting-room.

This chamber is fitted up with several plain cabinets, formed of ebony, inlaid with polished brass; the carpets are ethereal blue, intermingled with black.

The Bedroom.

This apartment contains a high canopy bedstead, with curtains of fine straw-coloured muslin, and lilac draperies of Persia—the entire edged with a gold-coloured fringe ornament. The bedstead encloses a curious mosquito net, formed of silk weft, embossed with transparent rich drapery. The dressing-room possesses the usual conveniences required by taste and comfort. The adjoining bath is marble-lined, and so constructed that it can admit either hot or cold water.

The table services have been provided by Mr. Bullock, from the most eminent manufacturers in the kingdom, and consist of the fairest, though not the most extravagant, specimens of our own proficiency in the various walks of mechanism and art. There is one set of breakfast ware, one dinner set, two desserts (one of china, the other of glass), one tea, and one for supper.

The sets of china were selected from different manufacturers throughout the country.

An immense quantity of stationery will also be sent. The cargo will weigh nearly 500 tons. It will be divided into about 400 packages, and several artisans are to accompany it, for the purpose of fitting up the establishment at its destination.

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'Morning Chronicle,' December 5, 1815.

The arrival of Bonaparte at St. Helena will give rise to various speculations. It will give consolation to the people before whose eyes he was everlastingly held up in terror, whenever Ministers were desirous of draining their pockets, or making them surrender their sons and nephews to recruit the army; but to Ministers themselves it will bring despair—they have lost their best *Ally*. He was their sheet-anchor. He was put in as an answer to every objection that was started to a new loan, to an augmentation of taxes, to a gagging bill, and to an interminable war. If an army was wanted for Spain it was for the deliverance of that noble, generous, and grateful people from the tyrant Bonaparte. If Prussia required a subsidy it was to keep her stedfast to that policy from which she had never swerved. If Austria wanted a loan to enable her to make war (and Austria was always faithful to her engagements), it was to make war on Bonaparte. The Emperor of Russia must be *hired* by British gold to become the *magnanimous* Deliverer of Europe from that monster; and from one end of Europe to the other—from the Swede to the Neapolitan—all were to be paid, because the British people were frightened with the name of Bonaparte, just as the children of France were lulled to sleep in the cradle with the song of *Malbrooke*. But the tyrant is no more, and Ministers, we repeat it, have lost their best Ally.

Nor is it our Ministers only. The four great contracting Sovereigns of Europe who have engaged to march into France, and pour forth all the horrors of desolation, and massacre wherever they think they perceive the germs of opposition to *legitimacy*, will find that they reckon without their *host*. Do they think that legitimacy will take the place of the demon? They also aroused their people by the terror of this *maniac*, who in the moment of his triumph forgot all true policy so far as to make all mankind his enemy. But do the Sovereigns believe that now the phantom of Bonaparte is withdrawn they will be charmed by the anointed image of *legitimacy*? No. They will recollect the promises that were made them when they last roused and quickened into action. That it was to establish the independence and rights of nations and of men that they were to arise and exert themselves against Bonaparte. They obeyed the call; and the contracting Powers will find, notwithstanding their most audacious and unparalleled Convention, that as the French Army first learned the principles of liberty in the fields of America, the Prussians and Russians have heard the word 'Constitution' in the plains of France. And 'by the grace of God' they will speedily demand it.

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'Morning Chronicle,' December 9, 1815.

BONAPARTE'S ARRIVAL AT ST. HELENA.

Further particulars of Bonaparte's arrival at St. Helena have reached us in letters from that island to the 22nd of October. On the 16th of that month his Majesty's ship Icarus arrived there with the first tidings of Bonaparte's downfall, of his being a second time so strangely saved from punishment, and of his destination to that island as a place of confinement. The inhabitants naturally were struck with no small degree of surprise. It was of course learnt at the same time that a very considerable addition would be made to the population of the island by the new garrison, as well as the attendants of the celebrated Rebel, the Commissioners to watch him, their suites, &c. Accordingly all was immediately hurry and bustle. Provisions experienced sudden and enormous rise in price. Eggs, which were before about three shillings a dozen, now advanced to a shilling apiece. Almost every other article of produce rose in the same proportion, and even land itself assumed an increased value of fifty per cent., which is not to be wondered at considering the small extent of the island, and the still smaller portion that is fit for cultivation, to feed the increased number of mouths. Upwards of 900 troops arrived out in the squadron under charge of the Northumberland. A great bustle took place on the 11th in making preparations for Bonaparte's reception ; eighty of the Company's soldiers were stationed to guard the gates, and orders were immediately issued by the Governor that no fishing boats were to be out of harbour after four o'clock in the afternoon. On the 15th the fleet arrived, when some persons from the town were allowed to go on board the squadron to dine. It was some days before all was ready for conveying Bonaparte to the house allotted for his reception. When he landed he was dressed in a green coat, white waistcoat, light coloured small clothes, white stockings, and cocked hat. The coat was trimmed with gold, and a plain gold epaulette was placed on each shoulder. He held in his hand an elegant telescope, and cast his eyes around him with great eagerness to survey the new objects. The Company's troops on the island were immediately to be sent to the Cape, to do duty there.

'Morning Chronicle,' December 11, 1815.

St. Helena, Oct. 22.—On the 10th inst. a sloop of war arrived with the intelligence that a fleet was approaching our island, in which was Bonaparte! This news threw us all into great confusion. On Sunday, the 15th, the Northumberland arrived here with the ex-Emperor and his suite. On Monday his surgeon (an Englishman)

called on me, and took me with him on board. I was introduced to General Bertrand and his Lady, and the other passengers; after remaining a few minutes in the ward-room, Bonaparte was announced to be on deck, when we all went up. I approached him and took off my hat; he did the same; he asked me if there was any good watch-makers in the place? I told him there was a very good one, a Mr. Solomons, who is also a very respectable merchant. He requested me to take his watches to him, as they were out of repair; one was a large gold repeater, the other a silver repeater, both musical; the latter, he says, he always had with him in his carriage.

'Times,' December 12, 1815.

Extracts from letters received from Officers of His Majesty's ship Northumberland:—

H.M.S. Northumberland, Oct. 18, 1815.

Buonaparte was very much pleased with the attention shewn to him, whilst on board this ship, however he might have felt upon subjects connected with bringing him here. He publickly thanked Captain Ross, on the quarter-deck, for his kindness, and requested he would do the same for him to the officers.

'Morning Chronicle,' December 28, 1815.

The following letter is from the Surgeon of the Northumberland:—

'*St. Helena, Oct.* 20, 1815.

'You must not expect any interesting anecdotes of Napoleon from me, though I had the honour of dining in his company four or five times, and of conversing a good deal with him, but merely on medicine, and the different modes of practice and degrees of improvement between the French and English. He speaks to every individual on his particular pursuit or profession, and asks very pertinent questions. He spent his time as follows on board the Northumberland. The whole of the forenoon, or rather day, in his private cabin reading; at five, he made his appearance at dinner, ate and drank tolerably well, took his cup of coffee, and went on deck, where he walked with Marshal Bertrand or Monsieur Las Casas for an hour or more. Sometimes he conversed with Admiral Cockburn; he then returned and played at *Vingt & Un* or Whist till ten or eleven o'clock; and this was the regular routine day after day.

'We arrived here on the 15th, and Napoleon landed on the 17th. The next morning he rode out to see Longwood, the Lieutenant-Governor's country house, which, when repaired, is to be his future

residence. He stopped to take some refreshment at a Mr. Balcombe's country house, a merchant here, and expressed such a dislike to the town, that he has been permitted to remain in the country, and he is to be Mr. Balcombe's guest for a week or ten days, until his own residence is ready. I am told he has written in the strongest terms of expostulation to Ministry on the hardship of confining him here; and indeed your imagination cannot form an idea of anything more dreary than the first aspect of this island, and I have yet seen little, on a closer inspection, to dispel the gloom. It consists entirely of a brown volcanic rock, split, as it were, into two parts, and through this valley flows a rivulet, on the banks of which are scattered patches of cultivation. The inhabitants consist of natives, the descendants of the English settlers, Indian blacks with lank hair, Indian slaves, Lascars, and Chinese. The town is tolerably good, and the houses neat and clean; its first appearance reminds you strongly of the decoration of an Opera scene.'

'Times,' January 2, 1816.

His Majesty's ship 'Ferrel,' St. Helena, Oct. 23rd, 1815.

General Buonaparte is much dejected, and highly displeased with the island, and the residence allotted to him. However, here he is, and likely to remain until death closes his mortal hours. Marshal Bertrand and all the attendants are at a house near the landing-place; but Buonaparte is at Mr. Balcombe's in the country, where he intends taking up his abode until the house appropriated to his reception is ready. The island of St. Helena is so fortified by nature, as well as art, that it is impossible he can make his escape; but, notwithstanding, Admiral Cockburn (the fittest man in the world to guard him) has thought it necessary to place two brigs on the look-out, one above and the other below the island. Madame Bertrand has been extremely ill since her arrival, but we hope she will soon recover, as she is remarkably attentive to the English.

The *Peruvian*, Capt. White, and *Zenobia*, Capt. Dobree, have sailed for the island of Ascension; the *Havannah*, Capt. Hamilton, sails to-morrow for the Cape. The *Ceylon* and *Zephyr* are not yet arrived, but we hourly expect them. Everything on the island is extremely dear; we hope, however, from the frequent communications with the Cape, it will soon prove less so. The Governor is very popular.

A gentleman arrived passenger by the last ship from St. Helena, informs us that matters are now so arranged at the Island as to prevent the possibility of Buonaparte's escape. The military regulations are so strict, that the inhabitants are not suffered to be out of their houses after dark. The gates of the garrison are shut, and the drawbridge hoisted up at sunset. No private merchantmen are allowed to anchor; regular Indiamen are only allowed this privilege.

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'Times,' January 16, 1816.

Extract of a Letter from His Majesty's ship Northumberland, dated St. Helena, November 23, 1815:—

'The exiled Napoleon reached his adamantine prison on the 13th of October, after a passage of seventy-four days. He left us on the evening of the 17th, choosing that time of the day to avoid the gazing throng. The weather was uncommonly temperate during our passage, and Buonaparte appeared to bear his reverse of fortune with an uncommon share of fortitude. The disappointment in not being permitted to reside in England disconcerted him greatly, and we naturally concluded he would shew some marks of his disapprobation, perhaps either by being silent, or confining himself to his cabin. No, no, there has been no moroseness, no sullenness of disposition shewn by Buonaparte; on the contrary, he has been particularly affable, inquisitively curious, and condescendingly communicative. The only thing I heard him complain of during the passage was the length of it. He longed for exercise on horseback, and was always desirous of learning particulars of St. Helena. He read Lord Valencia's account of St. Helena, and we lent him Mr. Johnson's account, both of which he told me, since we arrived, are too highly coloured. Buonaparte is extremely healthy, and the few days he has been on shore, I think, has improved his look. I think he was a little alarmed at a residence in a tropical climate. He was very inquisitive respecting the number of sick and with the nature of the disease. In a crowded ship of 850 souls entering the tropic, sickness in some shape or other is looked for. It made its appearance on board the *Northumberland* in the shape of the inflammatory fever, with derangement of the Hepatic system and considerable affection of the head, which was combated by considerable bleedings and purgatives. Buonaparte argued stoutly against bleeding; he could not conceive how three or four pounds of blood could be taken from a man without occasioning great debility—he was clear for attacking it on the Brunonian system; but I believe Napoleon has at last become a convert to the system of depletion, for he acknowledges the success of the practice has refuted his argument. We reached St. Helena with only nine on our sick list, without having lost a man on the passage. I do assure you Buonaparte has no contemptible opinion of the practices of the day, but jokingly says it is perfectly *San Grado*. I remarked to him one day how very temperate he was in wine. Yes, he replied, I required only a quarter of an hour to dinner, and drank a very moderate portion of Claret or Burgundy; now I get older I feel my relish increase. I like wine very well. I stood by his side when he first viewed this frightful rock. The only accessible chasm or valley is so fortified by nature, and so breasted with guns, that one had only to look at it and Buonaparte, and be satisfied that any attempt to escape from this stupendous perpendicular, hideous rock must be fruitless. Here we pay £1 10*s.* a day for board and a bench to sleep on. Fortunately, we get 4 dollars for our pound.'

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'Times,' January 17, 1816.

Extract of a letter from a gentleman just returned from India (and who touched at St. Helena) to his father in Edinburgh :—

'On leaving Bombay we had heard very little of those great recent events which have occurred in Europe. We were acquainted with Buonaparte's escape from Elba, and his attaching to his cause the army of France. On our arrival at the Cape we received a very indistinct account of the battle of Waterloo and its consequences, in addition to which it was reported that he (Buonaparte) had endeavoured to escape to America, which had promised him protection, and had been captured by an English ship. All this, of course, gave us great joy, but our warmest hopes could never have anticipated our seeing him at St. Helena. This, however, we did, twelve days after leaving the Cape. On making the island we were met by the *Redpole*, sloop, who first communicated to us the agreeable intelligence, and was answered by us with three heartfelt cheers. I of course expected to see Captain Fraser ; but, looking over a recent Navy List, was consoled for my disappointment by seeing his promotion. We were of course all very anxious to have a peep at the great Napoleon. He resides about two miles in the country, in a small cottage with a marquee adjoining, belonging to a Mr. Balcombe, a navy agent. Mr. B.'s country house is in the same inclosure, about an hundred yards distant. This is the only family on the island which he visits. Mr. B. has two smart young daughters, who talk the French language fluently, and to whom he is very much attached ; he styles them his little pages. There is a number of little stories of the innocent freedoms they take, and how highly he is diverted by it. He is occupied during the day in writing the history of his life, and the evening is devoted to walking in the garden with his Generals and his society at Mr. Balcombe's. The only chance strangers have of conversing with him is by getting an introduction to Mr. B., and stepping in, as if by chance, in the evening. Our Captain and several of our passengers by this means have had long conversations with him ; he talks upon every subject but those relating to politics, which he seems very desirous to avoid. He behaved with great politeness to the ladies, who have been echoing his praises ever since. I rode up one afternoon, and had the good fortune to arrive as he was taking his afternoon's walk in his garden. We (for I had a companion with me) tied our horses to a tree, and slipt behind a bush a little way from the walk where he was to pass. He passed several times within a few feet of us ; we had a most distinct view of him ; he was accompanied by two of his generals, Montholon and Gourgaud, who remained uncovered. From what I could hear (for though loud he talks very thickly) the late events were the subject of their conversation. Davoust's name, I could learn, was mentioned with no high encomiums. He was dressed in a plain blue coat, buttoned high over the breast, leaving the belly exposed, which protuberated a good deal, long white waistcoat, nankeen breeches, and military boots ; he had a large star on his left breast. He is a middle-sized man, well made, rather corpulent, with a singular though agreeable countenance,

light blue eyes, which appeared to me the most striking feature of his countenance, being so expressive and intelligent. There was nothing, however, in his appearance at all indicative of the great qualities he possesses. He is very strictly watched by the Admiral. Two sloops of war are constantly cruizing off the island, the one on the windward, and the other on the leeward sides, besides several guard-boats ; they are fortifying it in every possible direction. He still, however, entertains the idea of being at no distant period the Emperor of France. He thinks it impossible that the French people can long suffer the Bourbons.'

'Times,' February 12, 1816.

By accounts which have been received from St. Helena to the 14th of December, it appears that the arrangements for restraining the late Usurper of the French throne to the narrow limits of his present confinement are carried into full effect. Between three and four miles from the little sort of village which is dignified with the title of James-town, after ascending a narrow, winding road, bordered with ravines and precipices, you reach a small plain of about a mile and a quarter in length, terminated by an abrupt cliff overhanging, at a considerable elevation, the sea. About the middle of this plain stands Longwood, which serves the once-mighty Corsican either for a palace or state prison, according as his imagination may embellish the scene. The house, which is small, is surrounded at every outlet by sentries regularly relieved. Half a mile in advance of the house stands the lodge, where an officer's guard is stationed, suffering no individual to pass without a written order, signed by the Admiral's own hand. The opposite front of the house is about three-quarters of a mile from the cliff before noticed ; on the one side is an impassable ravine, on the other an unscaleable mountain. The space within these limits is all that is assigned to the movements of the state prisoner. There is, besides, within the boundary, an encampment for 250 or 300 men ; and on every commanding eminence, at every point which can serve to keep his movements under view, sentries are posted, who may be said to form the interior line of circumvallation, closing in the monster in the toils. The before-mentioned road to James-town is the only outlet from this certainly not 'happy valley,' but that road has sentries and picquets posted, in regular succession, all the way to the town. So much for the securities by land ! Those by sea seem to be provided with still greater care, to render the escape of the prisoner physically impossible. No vessel can approach the island, in any direction, without being seen by some of the numerous signal posts which are established, and communicate with each other all round the island. The moment a strange sail is seen signals are made to the cruizing vessels, of which there are two divisions, that alternately relieve each other, in the uninteresting, but ceaseless duty of hovering about this speck in the ocean. They proceed from the anchorage to a certain distance,

and then move round in one direction or the other, according to the winds or other circumstances, until they have completely encircled the island. If a straggling vessel from India, or elsewhere, approaches, they instantly make sail towards her, carefully overhaul her, and, if necessary, bring her up for final examination by the Admiral. She is not, however, suffered to anchor, unless she be a King's ship or an Indiaman, and this latter class are under very strict regulations. Few of their officers are suffered to land, and even their captains are not permitted to visit the interior of the island. As to the small boats that go out to fish for the supply of the inhabitants, they are carefully examined, both on their departure and return, are limited to a few short hours for the pursuit of their occupation, and when unemployed are carefully drawn up under the guns of the harbour or of the men of war. It is difficult for anybody belonging to the squadron to get leave to pass the night ashore. In general all individuals must come off from the land before sunset, at which time the drawbridge is taken up, and is not let down again till sunrise in the morning; and during this interval guard-boats are constantly employed in rowing round the island. Such are the precautions systematically devised, and employed to prevent the possibility of a second attempt of this restless being to create insurrection, and disturb the repose of the continent. Military and naval men, who have thoroughly investigated all these arrangements, are of opinion that they promise as much security as the nature of human affairs can in any case afford, against the escape of the most crafty or desperate prisoner.

'Times,' March 27, 1816.

An evening paper publishes the following account of the habits of Buonaparte. It appears to be written by a lady. It is certainly in a most *lady-like* style.

Plantation House, St. Helena, Jan. 6.

Those who have only seen the burning valley and shabby town of St. Helena can form no idea of the romantic beauties of this enchanting spot. The governor, at whose house we are, wishes us to remain till the new governor arrives; but ———'s military duty will not allow us to be absent from camp many days. Buonaparte makes the duty very hard upon the officers; they are on duty every third day. Since we arrived with the great Napoleon, we have had nothing but a round of balls, entertainments, and galas; and Sir G. B———, our colonel, gave a morning fête in tents, which cost 250£. I did the honour to the French Countesses, Governor, Ladies, etc., danced in every dance, and then walked home two miles in the rain; so will say I am tolerable strong. E—y danced with young Count Lascases. She sang to Buonaparte, and accompanied herself in two Italian songs on the piano. He was so delighted with her that he seized her by the ear, and gave her two severe pinches, which is the climax of his appro-

bation and delight. He pinched Sir G. B———, and every officer on board the *Northumberland*, except the Admiral, when they said any thing to please him.

I was introduced to Bony when he lived at the Briars. He met me in the garden, where he was walking with his Generals, all very obsequious, with their hats in their hands. He asked whether I was the lady who sang Italian, and spoke to me in Italian and French. He asked me to go into Mr. Balcombe's, and sing him an Italian song. I felt a little alarmed when I found the Emperor of the whole world behind my chair, although he is now an *Ex*-Emperor. I sang him a great many songs and an Italian duet with E—y, which appeared to please him greatly, and I understood he talked of us for three days.

I had the felicity of dining with him on the 2d. of January, at the first party he gave. Sir G. B. was the only one invited. The greatest state and etiquette is observed at the Court of Longwood; not a single word was uttered during dinner, excepting by Buonaparte himself. All the Marshals and Countesses sat mumchance; but I chattered away to his Majesty without any fear, which appeared to amaze them all. You cannot form an idea of the awe they all stand in of him, and he treats them, ladies and all, in the most cavalier manner. The plate and china is superb beyond belief. The coffee-cups are 25 guineas each cup and saucer. Each cup has views of Egypt on it, all different, and the saucers have highly finished miniatures of different Egyptian chiefs. These were presented to him by the City of Paris. Buonaparte took great delight in explaining them to me. He then asked me to play at tric-trac. I sat down, but did not know the game. He then asked me to teach him English backgammon. The idea of my instructing the Great Napoleon put me into a fine fright. He is very cheerful and gay, and sang all the time he was playing at cards. All the 53rd were introduced to him in a body. He sent a plate of sweetmeats to E—y from table with his own hand, and offered some to me, which I did not remark at the time; but I was told by his Secretary, Count Lascases, that it was a favour Queens had never received from him; and as for Kings, said he, I have seen seven at once waiting in his ante-room without gaining an audience. Countess Bertrand is an elegant woman. I see her very often, and Lascases is one of the most learned men of the age, and exceedingly agreeable. Our camp is a quarter of a mile from Longwood. We are building a house, which will be ready in a month. The climate is very cool in the mountains, but too cold, I think.

'Times,' April 9, 1816.

By the *Zenobia*, Captain DOBREE, which arrived here with despatches from St. Helena on Monday last, we have a different version of the story inserted in the *Courier* and other papers that Buonaparte had been shot at by a sentinel for trespassing beyond his boundaries. The facts are that the sentinel, on perceiving that

Buonaparte and his attendants were passing the prescribed limits, called to them to return. No attention being paid to this, he rapidly proceeded after them, in doing which he fell. At the same time the ramrod got loose from his musket, and as he was replacing it Buonaparte conceived that he was loading the piece with an intention to shoot, and so reported it to the Governor. On an inquiry it proved that the musket had not been loaded, and no further notice was taken of the affair. The sentinel being asked during the inquiry (not a court-martial) if he would have shot Buonaparte, firmly answered yes. Buonaparte every day grows more and more sullen in his demeanour, but still affects the majesty of a sovereign. According to report, he has distributed gold among the Malay slaves on the island with the view of inducing them to rise in his favour.—Plymouth paper.

'Times,' April 17, 1816.

The following anecdote is taken from the account of the revolution in Spain, written by the Abbé de Pradt. It does honour to the Count de Lima, who appears to have excited something like a generous emotion even in the selfish breast of Buonaparte:—

'Napoleon had ordered that there should be sent to Bayonne a deputation of the best qualified persons in Portugal. It waited for him in this city, and was presented to him some hours after his arrival. At its head was the Count de Lima, who had been Ambassador from Portugal to Paris, and who was in high repute there. Napoleon did not wait for the delivery of the President's speech, as is usual on such occasions; but, either from some delay on the part of the Count, or from his own impatience, at once began the conference in a most singular manner. After some polite forms he said, addressing the Deputies, "I don't know what I shall do with you; it will depend on what takes place in the south. Are you in the situation of making a nation? Have you means sufficient for that purpose? You are abandoned by your Prince; he has suffered himself to be carried to Brazil by the English: he has committed a great blunder and will repent of it!" Then turning to me he added, with an air of great gaiety, "It is with princes as with bishops—they must be resident." Afterwards, addressing himself to the Count de Lima, he asked him about the population of Portugal, and then presently joining the answer to the question, according to his custom, said, "Are there two millions?" "More than three," said the Count. "Ah! I did not know it," said Napoleon. "And Lisbon, does it contain 150,000 souls?" "More than double," said the Count de Lima. "Ah! I did not know it," again remarked Napoleon. Other questions and answers were exchanged with the same difference of opinion, and from one I did not know to another. Napoleon at length arrived at this question, "What is it you Portuguese want? Do you want to be Spaniards?"

At these words I saw the Count de Lima, swelling to ten feet in height, planting himself in a firm position, placing his hand on the guard of his sword, and answering with a voice which shook the room, "*No!*" The old heroes of Portugal could not have said it better. Napoleon was accordingly exceedingly struck with this heroic monosyllable, and the next day, in a conversation with one of his principal officers, he showed the impression which had been made upon him by observing, "The Count de Lima yesterday gave me a superb *No.*" He afterwards treated the Count with great and unremitting distinction. In all future conversation with him he plainly showed the kind disposition which the noble repartee had excited: he granted to the Count all he asked for the interests of Portugal, and did not say another word about its union with Spain.'

'Times,' April 24, 1816.

A French paper contains the following interesting details of the abominable conduct of one of Buonaparte's agents of police. Can there still exist any persons who believe that liberty could have any, the remotest connexion with a being who habitually employed such instruments?

'M. Fauché Borel, so well known by the services which he has rendered to the royal cause, has just commenced a legal prosecution against M. Perlet, formerly a journalist, which will throw a great light on the means which the police of Buonaparte employed to entrap the most illustrious and most estimable personages.

'M. Fauché establishes in his memoir that M. Perlet, pretending to concur in the re-establishment of the house of Bourbon, held with the ministers of the King for several years a correspondence, which he previously showed to Buonaparte, and which Buonaparte frequently dictated himself.

'All was prepared in this perfidious correspondence, in order to draw to France the most devoted royalists, to give them over to the royal executioner. It was with this horrible hope that they wished to draw over even a Prince of the Royal Family. It was not sufficient for the Usurper, by the most odious assassination, to have rendered inevitable the extinction of the illustrious house of Condé, another victim of the royal blood was necessary.

'Perlet, who under the dictation of Buonaparte wrote to the agents of Louis XVIII., made them believe for a long time that there existed at Paris a royal committee, composed of distinguished persons, who only waited for the presence of a *grand* personage to declare themselves in favour of the legitimate King; in short, the object was nothing less than to draw into an infamous ambush a son of France, and even the King himself.

'This odious plot continued till 1814, and the agents of Buonaparte followed it up even on the eve of his fall! When this fall was certain,

they did all they could to bury their horrible crimes in oblivion ; but if there could be any doubt of the Divine justice, what proof of it could be more convincing than the almost miraculous discovery of the correspondence which established all these facts ?

'This correspondence lasted more than ten years? From the month of February, 1807, Vitel junior, nephew of M. Fauché, had been sent secretly from London to Paris in order to become acquainted with the royal committee, and to learn whether its means were really so important if a great personage should come to direct them. Being referred to Perlet by his credulous correspondents, the unfortunate man was soon stripped by him of all his secrets, of all his money, and given over to his executioner. The informer, after having received from the police an indemnity of 3600 francs, after having obtained from the spoils of the victim 4174 francs more, did not find these sums sufficient ; he wrote to the uncle of Vitel to send him 600 louis with all speed. If he should receive this sum in time, Perlet would answer to Fauché for the safety of his nephew, and yet Vitel was already gone to his death !

'This unfortunate young man had a long time perished the victim of his zeal when Perlet touched the sum of 14,400 francs, which Fauché-Borel sent him on the first news of the danger of his nephew.

'The money which Perlet received in the same manner at different times and from different hands is incalculable, and the agents of the police themselves have declared that they never knew a monster more insatiable and more villanous. He wrote once to his correspondents in London that the royal committee wanted 500,000 francs, and he was near receiving this sum.

'M. Fauché supports all these assertions by receipts and letters from the hand of Perlet himself. He announces that the originals of these pieces are deposited with the notary whose address he gives. In short, all the facts are established in a manner so peremptory that there appears to be no defence for his adversary, except in denying his hand-writing ; and yet M. Fauché has foreseen that he would have recourse to this denial, and therefore, to take from him this last resourse, he has added to the memorial the *facsimile* of a receipt which Perlet gave to the prefect of police on the 10th of October, 1806, for an indemnity of 1500 francs. Those who know the hand-writing can examine and verify it.

'It must result from this extraordinary proceeding either that M. Fauché is a very audacious calumniator, or that Perlet is one of the most horrible monsters that ever disgraced humanity. M. Fauché, for the present, seems to confine himself to the demand of the restitution of the 14,400 francs which he gave for the salvation of Vitel when he was already dead ; but, if all the charges are proved, Perlet would be a fortunate man to be quit so easily.'

'Times,' May 21, 1816.

St. Helena, March 16.

Since I wrote to you last it has been very evident that Buonaparte is far from being content with his residence here. He was greatly offended a short time back with some orders given by Sir G. Cockburn relative to prohibiting any individual entering Longwood without a pass. On this occasion he declared that he would never receive any person bringing a pass from the Admiral, as he should immediately consider that person of the same kidney with himself, and added that the Admiral telling him the sentinels were merely placed out of compliment to him, and to prevent his being teazed by importunate or curious visitors, was only adding irony to insult. He also expressed that, next to the British Government banishing him to such a detestable rock as St. Helena, he conceived their sending him under the directions of the Admiral to have been the greatest injury they could have done him. Some time after his arrival at this island, and previous to his being finally settled at Longwood, he ascertained that a Chinese was detained here, and most unwarrantably considered as a slave, he having by some means been smuggled on shore, and probably handed over to his first master for some paltry sum of money (and of such conduct it is believed that many instances could be produced). He took an opportunity to communicate this to the Admiral, who immediately ordered an inquiry to be made into the circumstances of the case, in consequence of which other discoveries have been made, and several supposed slaves, or persons hitherto considered as such, will be restored to liberty, and most likely to their native countries. Buonaparte enjoys very good health, although the great humidity of the climate and the frequent dense fogs do not permit him to take as much exercise on horseback as he is desirous of. In this execrable island, he says, there is neither sun or moon to be seen, and he has given it the name of *Isle de Brouillard.* He sometimes rides out in the morning. On one of these occasions, in passing a field where some men were ploughing, he alighted and took the direction of the plough-handle for the length of the field, and on returning drove the team the same distance, remarking that it was fatiguing employment. He received the intelligence of Murat's death with considerable fortitude, and appeared only anxious to know whether he had been killed in battle or not. Neither was it possible to discover from his manner whether the information produced any unpleasant impression on his mind. Notwithstanding the short distance between Longwood and James-town, it was commonly reported at the latter place that he broke out into the most violent invectives on hearing it, and probably such has been the account forwarded to England. When he was informed of the death of Marshal Ney he observed that he was a brave man, a very brave man. Such persons as the Admiral approves of have now liberty to visit at Longwood by applying to Marshal Bertrand (who resides at Hutt's-gate, about a mile from Longwood) for a pass to enter the gates. Marshal Bertrand is much esteemed by every one for

his great consistency, and the honourable line of conduct he has adopted. Napoleon is now on better terms with the Admiral than formerly; he has discovered that the conduct of the latter has been misrepresented.

'Times,' May 29, 1816.

Our readers will recollect the accusation brought by M. Fauché-Borel against one Perlet, of which we, some weeks ago, gave an abstract as illustrative of the horrible atrocities of Buonaparte's police. At an early period of the Revolution M. Borel had abandoned his country, had left a beloved wife and an ample fortune, and had served the King of France confidentially in various parts of Europe, and for a long succession of years. He had himself undergone a severe imprisonment, and had sent his nephew, M. Vitel, on a dangerous mission to Paris, and had intrusted the secret, together with a large sum of money, to Perlet. This latter wretch, who had previously been despatched by Fouché and Real to England to persuade the Royal Family to come to France with a view to have them assassinated, finding that attempt unsuccessful, resolved at least to betray Vitel and to pocket Borel's money under pretence of employing it for the unfortunate young man's release. Vitel perished, and Borel did not at that time suspect Perlet. We have before us a pamphlet which he published in 1807, very shortly after his nephew's death, in which he speaks of its authors as unknown to him, but adds, 'I am on my part resolutely determined not to spare them, but to oblige them sooner or later to develope themselves. Let them be assured that I am resolved to drag them into daylight.' This threat M. Borel, fortunately for the interests of morality, has at last accomplished. He has unmasked the traitor to his Sovereign, the swindler of his friend, the base and infamous dealer in blood. Perlet had the audacity to reply by a charge of calumny against Borel. The actions were consolidated, and at the first hearing both the plaintiffs stood in person before the court, but the guilt of Perlet was established by his own answers, and irresistibly confirmed by the deposition of Veyrat, another agent of Buonaparte's police at the time of Vitel's death. At the subsequent hearing Perlet had absconded. Borel's counsel was heard, and the cause was adjourned for the Procureur-General to sum up, on the part of the Government, in relation to both the charges. On the 24th inst. this cause, which had excited an exceedingly great interest in Paris, was brought to a conclusion by the speech of a M. Riffe, who appeared as substitute for the Procureur-General. The Judges, much to their honour, went beyond the sentence on Perlet which M. Riffe demanded. They condemned him to five years' imprisonment, to pay 24,000 francs to Borel, including costs, and to the privation of all civil rights for ten years, and they ordered 500

copies of the sentence to be printed and posted up for public inspection. We have often had occasion to lament the wretched degradation into which the profession of the law has fallen in France during the Revolution. We have shown that the French advocates frequently betray a total absence of the first principles of morality. Who would have thought but that any wise and good man would have eagerly seized the opportunity of thanking M. Borel, in the name of public morals, for the perseverance which brought so horrid a train of crimes to light, and exposed the infamy of despotism to such just abhorrence? Who would not have expected to have heard a just and warm eulogium on the man whose zeal and fidelity to the royal cause had exposed to hazard his own life, and subjected that of a dear relative to destruction? Not a word of all this! M. Riffe takes an opportunity of complimenting Veyrat (a man who since the restoration has himself been placed under the superintendence of the police) by calling him 'a devoted subject of the King;' but he occupies nearly half his speech in reprobating Borel for not having submitted in silence to the calumnies of Perlet and others, which had robbed him of the King's favour, so justly due to him. Borel is reproached, after all he had done and suffered for the royal cause, because he could not bury in his own bosom the ingratitude he had experienced. He is told, now that he has exposed Perlet's infamy, that the calumnies of an infamous person could not wound his character, although down to the very hearing of the cause Borel's services were actually left without reward, while Perlet appeared at the trial with the decoration of *the Order of the Lily!* We know not where M. Riffe was during the thirty-three months that Borel passed as a prisoner in the Temple, or at the moment when Vitel sealed with his blood his own and his uncle's attachment to the cause; but it is an insult, on the part of this revolutionary lawyer, to ask M. Borel whether to all his other sacrifices he could not add the homage of his sufferings on feeling himself treated with unmerited neglect? No; that was an homage somewhat beyond the common powers of human nature, and the general voice of all Europe will join in reprobating the manner in which M. Borel has been treated, if the heartless sarcasms of Riffe be not amply compensated by the open and liberal gratitude of Louis XVIII.

'Morning Chronicle,' July 22, 1816.

Saturday morning, about eight o'clock, Captain Whitz, R.N., of his Majesty's ship the *Peruvian* arrived in a chaise and four with despatches from St. Helena. The Captain brought despatches to the Secretary of State's Office for the Colonial Department and the Admiralty. Earl Bathurst not being in London, the Captain proceeded to the noble Earl at his country house at Putney. The contents of the despatches were considered of so much importance that

circulars were sent round to all the Cabinet Ministers with the contents. The Captain had a very excellent passage; he came in six weeks, and is of opinion he should have done it in three weeks had it not been for contrary winds, which kept him off the English coast. He landed at Portsmouth on Friday night. He reports that Bonaparte was in good health when he left St. Helena.

'Morning Chronicle,' July 24, 1816.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM ST. HELENA, JUNE 3.

'Instead of Napoleon's condition having been, as was supposed by a few, considerably ameliorated by the change of Government, some additional restrictions were judged necessary to be laid on. These for some days produced an unpleasant effect on his mind, and were probably the cause of his confining himself closely to his chamber for several days. He has, however, been seen within a few days back, driving in his carriage, and occasionally riding with his accustomed velocity within his limits, as he most religiously persists in his resolution of not riding out with a British officer.

'A letter, purporting to be written from St. Helena, has appeared in some of the public papers which have lately reached this island, and were it not that a few of the circumstances mentioned in it have a distinct relation to what really occurred, though miserably garbled and scandalously misrepresented, one would suppose that it never was the production of a person resident in St. Helena, as one would imagine that an inhabitant, or even a temporary sojourner, would have had opportunities of learning anecdotes less distantly removed from the truth than those which form the subject of it.

'The author of the letter in question is so grossly ignorant of that which he pretends to relate with great accuracy, that he does not even know the name of the officer on duty at Longwood. In the first place no such circumstance occurred as Bonaparte's ordering Captain Poppleton to ride in the rear, and that the privilege of riding abreast of him was not for *him*. Neither did he (the Captain) refuse to accompany Napoleon out the following day, or apprise him that he intended for the future to ride with him in uniform. The assertion of Captain P. having taken the precaution of sleeping in a room through which Bonaparte must necessarily pass on his way to his own, is too ridiculous to need contradiction, were it not that such a statement, if left uncontradicted, might with a few affect the reputation of a most respectable English officer—who has always performed the (not unfrequently) unpleasant duties of his situation in the most delicate manner, by having it understood that he would execute the degrading office of a turnkey.

'The statement respecting the Polish Captain is equally false and most scandalous. Instead of Napoleon having turned his back upon him (the Polish Captain) and asked Las Cases "who that man was," he

received him in the most polite manner, and conversed with him upwards of two hours. Immediately after this Napoleon despatched one of his suite to ask him what he stood in need of—money, clothes, linen? with directions if he had none of the latter clean after so long a voyage, to furnish him with some of *his own*. To this was added an order for 40*l*. or 50*l*., which was immediately paid. He also had him to dinner with him for several days after.

'Equally true with the above-mentioned letter are those which state that Napoleon eats a *whole pig* smothered with onions for breakfast, and *eight fowls* for dinner! The writers of such absurd stuff must either be inconceivably silly, or have most contemptible opinions of the understandings of those to whom they address them, or they would never attempt to thrust such a farrago of stupid lies down their throats. However, they seem to be greedily swallowed by some of the journalists. This circumstance drew from Bonaparte one day a remark that he supposed the Editors of some of the English papers would make him eat a live bull at one meal, horns and all! This anecdote I have heard from a person who was present.

'Sometime back Sir H. and Lady D., Mrs. M'Clintock, Mrs. Wetherall, with several other ladies and gentlemen, were introduced to him in the garden, to all of whom he was extremely affable, and they departed highly pleased with their reception. When it was mentioned to him afterwards that the *ladies* were particularly gratified, and that they were surprised to find him so different a person from what he had been represented, he is said to have replied, laughing, "I suppose they imagined that I was some strange kind of animal with two great horns sticking out of my head."

'It has been asserted that he has frequently reviled the memory of Kleber, and even by some that he had caused his assassination. Quite the contrary would appear from the very handsome manner in which he speaks of him. A short time back he expressed himself in the following manner.—"If Kleber had lived the English would never have taken Egypt with an army without cavalry and few artillery. The Turks were nothing. Kleber, Kleber," repeated he, "was an irreparable loss to *France* and to *me*. He was a man of the brightest talents, and a general of the greatest bravery."—"Menou," he observed, "was a brave man, but destitute of talent."

'The friends and relatives of the late lamented Sir John Moore would probably be not displeased to hear the following tribute of applause paid to his memory by an enemy whose capacity to judge need not be pointed out. "Moore," said Napoleon, "was a brave soldier, an excellent officer, and a man of talent. He made a few mistakes, which were probably inseparable from the difficulties by which he was surrounded, and most likely caused by the incorrectness of his information having misled him." This he repeated, observing "that Moore had commanded the reserve in Egypt, where he evinced considerable talent." "He died," added he, "gloriously; he died like a soldier." Speaking about St. Helena, he observed "that such was the deplorable state of the island that the inhabitants considered the absence of actual want, or the lack of starvation, as the greatest blessing." "For example," said he, "P—— went the other day to R——'s, and there they said to him, 'Oh, how happy you must be to have *fresh meat* every day at dinner! Oh! if we could but enjoy *that* how happy we should be.'"

'It was stated, some time back, that Napoleon's *maître d'hotel* and others of his suite had signed a paper (pursuant to orders received from England, either to do that or quit St. Helena) purporting their willingness to remain and submit to such restrictions as it might be thought necessary to impose on them. The following is an abstract of that paper :—"We, the undersigned, wishing to remain in the service of the Emperor Napoleon, consent, however dreadful may be the abode of St. Helena, to remain in it, submitting ourselves to such restrictions, however arbitrary and unjust they may be, which have been imposed upon the Emperor and the persons in his service."'

'Times,' July 25, 1816.

All sorts of accounts are published respecting Buonaparte ; we will not undertake to say which are true and which are false ; those who profess an intimate knowledge of the man will perhaps recognize him 'by his style.'

Extract of a letter from St. Helena, June 3rd:—

A letter, purporting to be written from St. Helena, has appeared in some of the public papers which have lately reached this island ; and, were it not that a few of the circumstances mentioned in it have a distant relation to what really occurred, though miserably garbled and scandalously misrepresented, one would suppose that it never was the production of a person resident in St. Helena. The author of the letter in question is so grossly ignorant of that which he pretends to relate with great accuracy, that he does not even know the name of the officer on duty at Longwood. In the first place, no such circumstance occurred as Buonaparte's ordering Captain Poppleton to ride in the rear, and that the privilege of riding abreast of him was not for *him*. Neither did he (the captain) refuse to accompany Napoleon out the following day, or apprise him that he intended for the future to ride with him in uniform. The assertion of Capt. P. having taken the precaution of sleeping in a room through which Buonaparte must necessarily pass on his way to his own, is too ridiculous to need contradiction, were it not that such a statement, if left uncontradicted, might with a few affect the reputation of a most respectable English officer—who has always performed the (not unfrequently) unpleasant duties of his situation in the most delicate manner, by having it understood that he would execute the degrading office of a turnkey. The statement respecting the Polish captain is equally false, and more scandalous. Instead of Napoleon having turned his back upon him (the Polish captain), and asked Las Cases 'Who that man was?' he received him in the most polite manner, and conversed with him upwards of two hours. Immediately after this, Napoleon despatched one of his suite to ask him what he stood in need of—money, clothes,

linen?—with directions, if he had none of the latter clean after so long a voyage, to furnish him with some of his *own*. To this was added an order for 40*l*. or 50*l*., which was immediately paid. He also had him to dinner with him for several days after.

Some time back, Sir H—— and Lady D——, Mrs. M'Clintock, Mrs. Wetherell, with several other ladies and gentlemen, were introduced to Buonaparte in the garden, to all whom he was extremely affable; and they departed highly pleased with their reception. When it was mentioned to him afterwards that the *ladies* were particularly gratified, and that they were surprised to find him so different a person from what he had been represented, he is said to have replied, laughing, 'I suppose they imagined that I was some strange kind of animal, with two great horns sticking out of my head.'

It has been asserted that he has frequently reviled the memory of Kleber, and even by some that he had caused his assassination. Quite the contrary would appear from the very handsome manner in which he speaks of him. A short time back he expressed himself in the following manner:—'If Kleber had lived, the English would never have taken Egypt with an army without cavalry and few artillery. The Turks were nothing. Kleber, Kleber,' repeated he, 'was an irreparable loss to *France* and to *me*. He was a man of the brightest talents and a general of the greatest bravery. Menou,' he observed, 'was a brave man, but destitute of talent.'

Speaking of Sir John Moore, Napoleon said, 'Moore was a brave soldier, an excellent officer, and a man of talent. He made a few mistakes, which were probably inseparable from the difficulties by which he was surrounded, and most likely caused by the incorrectness of his information having misled him.' This he repeated, observing 'That Moore had commanded the reserve in Egypt, where he evinced considerable talent.' 'He died,' added he, 'gloriously; he died like a soldier.' Speaking about St. Helena, he observed, 'That such was the deplorable state of the island, that the inhabitants considered the absence of actual want, or the lack of starvation, as the greatest blessing.' 'For example,' said he, 'P—— went the other day to R——'s, and there said to him, "Oh, how happy you must be to have *fresh meat* every day at dinner! Oh, if we could but enjoy *that*, how happy we should be."'

It was stated some time back, that Napoleon's *maitre d'hotel*, and others of his suite, had signed a paper (pursuant to orders received from England, either to do that or quit St. Helena), purporting their willingness to remain, and submit to such restrictions as it might be thought necessary to impose upon them. The following is an abstract of that paper:—

'We, the undersigned, wishing to remain in the service of the Emperor Napoleon, consent, however dreadful may be the abode of St. Helena, to remain in it, submitting ourselves to such restrictions, however arbitrary and unjust they may be, which have been imposed upon the Emperor and the persons in his service.'

NAPOLEON

'Times,' August 8, 1816.

A German paper contains the following letter from New York under date of the 12th of May:—

'In so large, opulent, and of itself so populous and busy a city as New York, the addition of a few thousand individuals could scarcely make any difference; but in our places of public resort the presence of so many foreigners becomes very perceptible, and the many emigrant Frenchmen now here are not without influence on the tone in society. There are at present in this place a multitude of French ex-dukes, counts, barons, ministers, and counsellors of state, high officers of court and state, both civil and military, who have all brought more or less money. Joseph Buonaparte lives here without any great show. He has laid aside all titles, dignities, and orders, and his servants go without livery. He is merely called Mr. Joseph Buonaparte. He is extremely liberal to every man who has any claim upon him for assistance in obtaining a settlement, which his very great wealth enables him easily to do. He seldom visits in the societies of this city, and his circle is chiefly confined to Frenchmen. He lately made a journey to Philadelphia, where he was accompanied by Marshal Grouchy and General Lefebvre Desnouettes. In Landsdowne, where he resided for some time, General Clanzel was also in his suite. Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely has recently returned to New York from Charlestown, where he purchased 10,000 acres of land in South Carolina. He is much occupied in writing, and from time to time publishes very interesting articles in the American journals. Though so strong an adherent of Buonaparte, he now in all he writes affects to be a warm defender of liberty, and a genuine republican. Eight thousand acres of land on the Ohio have been purchased on the account of M. Real (formerly Councillor of State and Prefect of Paris), who is daily expected here. Portions of these lands are to be given gratis to such French families as choose to settle there. Among the persons who have brought off large sums from France to America, Messrs. Lacepede and Chaptal are particularly spoken of—both celebrated naturalists and formerly members of the Paris Institute, the former a Count and President of the Senate, the latter also a Count, and for some years Minister of the Interior under Napoleon. European veteran officers are at present in demand for the American service. Many French military men have already obtained advantageous appointments. This measure is generally approved of, because it was particularly ascribed to the want of good officers in the militia, that in the late war the enemy was able to attempt landings, which were very mortifying to the American national pride. Experience has also taught that, in the United States, in a period of common danger it is easy to increase the regular army, which in peace is very small, by voluntary levies to almost any amount, though it is not so easy to find in this country officers to lead them.'

'Morning Chronicle,' November 18, 1816.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM ST. HELENA.

(From the *Antigallican.*)

Sept. 22, 1816.

A very curious circumstance occurred here a few days ago.—Bonaparte, in a rage, ordered his service of plate to be broken up, the eagles which were engraved to be effaced, and the whole to be disposed of as old silver. He applied to a merchant, a resident of this place, who asked permission of the Governor. He thought that the amount would not exceed 3000*l.* or 4000*l.* sterling. The Governor consented to the merchant's going to look at the plate, but observed that the amount should not be paid to Buonaparte, but deposited in the hands of the Governor or the purveyor. When the merchant went to look at the plate, instead of the sum above-mentioned, the property was about 19,500*l.* sterling—a sum rather too great to be procured here at so short a notice. However, in a day or two it is expected that this curious negotiation will be brought to a close. It is said that Bonaparte wishes by these means to make himself independent of the British Government, and that in future he will never make any application for money, but live on his own resourses. His suite receive their regular allowance from Government. This place is uncommonly lively. The French Commissioner is the laughing-stock of all the inhabitants of this place. He is called the *French hairdresser.* Indeed, he has the appearance of belonging to that fraternity.

'Times,' December 28, 1816.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM THE MARQUIS DE MONTCHENU, COMMISSIONER OF THE KING OF FRANCE, TO HIS FRIEND M. PRIEUR, KNIGHT OF ST. LOUIS, DIRECTOR OF THE POSTS AT ANGOULEME.

St. Helena, July 22, 1816.

You cannot form an idea of this isle; all that you have read or heard of it makes it a paradise when compared with the reality: its aspect is still more hideous in the interior,—you see only rugged mountains, destitute of vegetation, of a height varying from fifty to 1500 toises—a single plain, which is that where Buonaparte resides. One meets here and there a few stunted trees; nothing but potatoes are cultivated, and that in small quantity;—a single town, in which

there are about sixty houses—and not a village ; some cottages, which are dignified with the name of country houses, about a tenth of which are habitable ; some very fine roads, uniformly bordered by frightful precipices ; no practicable paths. Such, my dear Sir, is the abode of your friend, who, besides, is ignorant of the language of the country ; and if he should know it, would not be much the better for it. If you commiserate me, then regret that you did not accompany me. We want everything ; everything is here at an exorbitant price. To give you an idea of this, you must know that all our wants must be supplied from England or the Cape of Good Hope, which is 600 leagues off. Coals for the kitchen come from England, for the island produces no firewood. A few days ago some bullocks arrived from the Cape ; out of 25 embarked, 11 died on the passage. A small sheep costs from 5 to 6 louis ; a fowl, very tough, from 10 to 15 francs, according to its size ; bread, which is the cheapest article, 22 sous per lb. ; a pair of shoes from 18 to 20 fr.

Having thus detailed to you my miseries, I will now talk to you of our great man, of his situation and guard.

The garrison consists of about 2500 men, with 500 and odd pieces of artillery, and about a score of mortars. It occupies the house of the Lieutenant-Governor, situate upon the only plain in the island, called Longwood. This plain is surrounded on all sides by horrible precipices, and there is but one road by which you can reach it. On this plain has been established a camp, occupied by the 53rd regiment and a park of artillery ; it is besides lined with posts of troops. Buonaparte and his followers have the liberty of walking or riding within this circle. He must be accompanied by an officer in uniform, who must not quit him a single step, and this same officer lodges in the house, and must know what he is doing the whole of the day. The other persons in his suite are accompanied by an orderly officer, and the valets by a non-commissioned officer. The Governor is made acquainted hourly with whatever passes by means of telegraphs, erected throughout the isle, so that in a minute he knows whatever is passing, or in two minutes when he is making his rounds or on horseback ; and in case of anything happening, the whole island would be under arms in three or four minutes. Such are the precautions by land ; those at sea are of a different kind. There are always at least two frigates at anchor, while two brigs are sailing night and day round the island ; and from six o'clock in the evening to the same hour next morning, armed boats patrol along the base of the mountains which border the sea and surround us on all sides ; at night, that is after six o'clock, all the boats, belonging both to individuals and the shipping, must have returned, and if a boat makes its appearance it is fired upon. After nine o'clock, no one can move out without having the password without fear of being shot, or, at least, arrested. No foreign vessel can come on the coast ; they are announced by signal the moment they are perceived, and a dollar is given to him who first spies them, which may be done nearly sixty miles to sea. Ships cannot bear in close to the island in one night, especially on a coast so dangerous ; add to which, that the breakers are so strong that one is sometimes several days without being able to come close in without danger. You perceive, my dear friend, that escape appears physically impossible ; that even if the Governor wished to favour it, the Admiral must also be in the plot. If

even, in spite of all these precautions, the Admiral were to allow two or three boats to approach in a favourable night, which would be exposed to a very dangerous fire, what would happen then? All the roads are guarded, the rocks are nearly impracticable, and there is not a point where ten men without arms, and with stones only, which are in abundance, could not stop a thousand men well armed.

The other day, while making a reconnaissance with the Governor, it appeared to me that a point of landing, defended by thirty-six pieces of cannon and a very strong post, could be better protected, because one of the flanking batteries was a little too much elevated. I found a point where the rock would admit of being easily levelled a little so as to admit the erection of a small battery of four pieces of cannon that would brush the very surface of the water. They are now at work upon it. Nothing passes or is done without my being informed of it, so that you may reassure your good people of Angouleme to be perfectly easy; you will never see him more, I answer for it, as long as I am here. At night every man must be in his home, without leaving it. The house is surrounded by sentinels, with orders to fire instantly. They are certain that the order will be executed, which has already happened once. I hope, however, not to die here, unless it be of hunger or ennui. In that case, every month of my residence will surely be counted for some years of purgatory. See, my friend, what a means of salvation you have neglected.

Buonaparte, on his arrival here, was long lodged at the house of an inhabitant of the name of Mr. Balcomb. He has a daughter named Betsy, who is celebrated for her independent spirit and her wild temper. She is rather handsome; he has appeared fond of her. Chatting with her the other day, I said, 'Miss, I am not surprised at your speaking French so well—Buonaparte was your teacher. I have been told that you knew how to tame him, and that he was amorous.' 'Oh! you don't know him at all; he is not *galant* enough for that.' Her sister told me that, being with him, he took her by the ear, which he pulled very hard—'He pained me much.' Very well, what did this pretty hand do then? 'I gave him a famous cuff, which put him in such a passion that he squeezed my nose, which continued red the whole day.' 'For my part I should have embraced you'—and I kissed the pretty hand that had cuffed the great man. The other day she found a sword in his chamber, drew it, and attacked him. He retreated to a corner of the room, shouting with all his might, Lascaze came to his assistance, and disarmed her. 'Do you mean to kill him?' 'No; but I wish to see the colour of his blood.' For the rest he is not at all amusing. He is almost always in bad humour, vexes everybody about him, makes himself be served as Emperor, and, generally speaking, he imposes himself as such on all his people.

I had a fine passage, we were only fifty-seven days; he was seventy-seven days. I did not suffer much from the voyage. Though I arrived on the 1st of June I am still somewhat indisposed from its effects. My aide-de-camp, a young man of twenty-six, has more speedily recovered. . . . . You may copy my letter and circulate it. It will cheer up the timid, and intimidate the disaffected. The style is perhaps too negligent, but I have not time to correct it, as a ship sails immediately for Europe.

(Signed) MONTCHENU.

NAPOLEON

'Morning Chronicle,' March 13, 1817.

Letter,

By Order of the Emperor Napoleon.

Addressed by General Count Montholon, to Sir Hudson Lowe, British Governor of the Island of St. Helena.

General,—I have received the Treaty of the 3d of August, 1815, concluded between his Britannic Majesty, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, which accompanied your letter of the 23d of July.

The Emperor Napoleon protests against the contents of that Treaty; he is not the prisoner of England. After having placed his abdication in the hands of the Representatives of the Nation, for *the advantage of the Constitution adopted by the French people, and in favour of his Son*, he repaired voluntarily and freely to England, with the view of living there, as a private individual, under the protection of the British laws. The violation of every law cannot constitute a right. The person of the Emperor Napoleon is actually in the power of England, but he neither has been, nor is, in the power of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, either in fact or of right, even according to the laws and customs of England, which never included, in the exchange of prisoners, Russians, Prussians, Austrians, Spaniards, or Portuguese, though united to these powers by treaties of alliance and making war conjointly with them.

The Convention of the 2nd of August, concluded fifteen days after the Emperor was in England, cannot have of right any effect. It exhibits only a spectacle of the coalition of the four greatest Powers of Europe for the oppression of *a single man!*—a coalition which the opinion of every nation and all the principles of sound morality equally disavow.

The Emperors of Austria and Russia, and the King of Prussia, having neither in fact or in right any claim over the person of the Emperor Napoleon, could decide nothing respecting him.

Had the Emperor Napoleon been in the power of the Emperor of Austria, that Prince would have recollected the relations which religion and nature have formed *between a father and a son*—relations which are never violated with impunity.

He would have recollected that Napoleon had *four* times restored to him his throne: viz. at Leoben in 1797—at Luneville in 1804—when his armies were under the walls of Vienna—at Presburgh in 1806, and at Vienna in 1809, when his armies had possession of the capital and three-fourths of the monarchy! That Prince would have recollected the protestations he made to Napoleon at the *bivouac* in Moravia in 1806, and at the interview in Dresden in 1812.

Had the person of the Emperor Napoleon been in the power of the Emperor Alexander, he would have recollected the ties of friendship contracted at Tilsit, at Erfurth, and during *twelve years of daily correspondence.*

He would have recollected the conduct of the Emperor Napoleon the day after the battle of Austerlitz, when, though he could have made him, with the wreck of his army, *prisoner*, contented himself with taking his parole, and allowed him to operate his retreat. He would have recollected the dangers to which the Emperor Napoleon personally exposed himself in order to extinguish the fire of Moscow, and to preserve that capital for him—assuredly, that Prince would never have violated the duties of friendship and gratitude towards a friend in misfortune.

Had the person of the Emperor Napoleon been in the power of the King of Prussia, that Sovereign could not have forgotten that it depended on the Emperor, after the battle of Friedland, to place another Prince on the throne of Berlin. He would not have forgotten, in the presence of a *disarmed* enemy, the protestations of attachment and the sentiments of gratitude which he testified to him in 1812 at the interviews in Dresden.

It accordingly appears from articles 2 and 5, of the Treaty of the 2nd of August, that these Princes, being incapable of exercising any influence over the disposal of the Emperor, who was not in their power, accede to what may be done thereon by his Britannic Majesty, who takes upon himself the charge of fulfilling every obligation. These Princes have reproached the Emperor Napoleon with having preferred the protection of the English laws to theirs. The false ideas which the Emperor Napoleon had formed of the liberality of the laws of England, and of the *influence of the opinion* of a *great, generous, and free people over their Government*, decided him to prefer the protection of *these* laws to that of a *father-in-law* or an old friend.

The Emperor Napoleon had it in his power to secure, by a diplomatic treaty, whatever was personal to himself, by putting himself either at the head of the army of the Loire, or at the head of the army of the Gironde, commanded by General Clausel; but wishing, henceforth, for nothing but retirement and the protection of the laws of a free state, either English or American; all stipulations appeared to him unnecessary. He conceived that the English people were more bound by a conduct which was, on his part, frank, noble, and full of confidence, than they would have been by the most solemn treaties. He *has been deceived*, but this error will for ever cause *true* Britons to blush, and will, in the present as well as the future generations, be a *proof of the bad faith of the English administration.*

Austrian and Prussian Commissioners are arrived at St. Helena. If the object of their mission be the fulfilment of a part of the duties which the Emperors of Austria and Russia have contracted by the Treaty of the 2nd of August, and to take care that the English agents in a small colony, in the midst of the ocean, do not fail in the respect due to a Prince connected with these Sovereigns by the bonds of *relationship* and so many other ties, proofs of the character which belong to these two Monarchs will be recognized in this proceeding; but you, Sir, have declared that these Commissioners have neither *the right nor the power* of giving *any opinion on what may be passing on this Rock!*

The English Ministers have caused the Emperor Napoleon to be transported to St. Helena, at the distance of 2000 leagues from Europe! This Rock, situated within the tropics, and 500 leagues from

any continent, is subject to the devouring heats of these latitudes. It is covered with clouds and fogs during three-fourths of the year, and is at once the most arid and the most humid country in the world. Such a climate is most inimical to the health of the Emperor, and hatred must have dictated the choice of this residence, as well as the instructions given by the English Ministry to the officers commanding in the Island.

They have even been ordered to call the Emperor Napoleon *General*, as if it were wished to oblige him to consider himself as never having reigned in France.

The reason which determined him not to assume an incognito name, as he might have resolved to do on leaving France, were these: First Magistrate for life of the Republic under the title of First Consul, he concluded the Preliminaries of London and the Treaty of Amiens with the King of Great Britain; and received, as Ambassadors, Lord Cornwallis, Mr. Merry, and Lord Whitworth, who resided in that quality at his court.

He accredited to the King of England, Count Otto and General Andreossi, who resided as Ambassadors at the Court of Windsor. When, after an exchange of letters between the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the two Monarchies, Lord Lauderdale came to Paris invested with full powers from the King of England: he treated with the Plenipotentiaries possessing full powers from the Emperor Napoleon, and remained for several months at the Court of the Tuileries: when Lord Castlereagh afterwards signed, at Chatillon, the *ultimatum*, which the Allied Powers presented to the Plenipotentiaries of the Emperor Napoleon, he recognized by that the fourth dynasty. This *ultimatum* was more advantageous than the Treaty of Paris, but in exacting that France should renounce Belgium and the left bank of the Rhine, it enacted what was contrary to the propositions of Frankfort, and the Proclamations of the Allied Powers—what was contrary to the oath, by which, at his coronation, the Emperor swore to maintain the integrity of the Empire. The Emperor, besides, thought that these natural limits were necessary, both for the security of France, and to preserve the equilibrium of Europe; he thought that the French nation, in the situation in which it was, ought rather to run the hazard of all the chances of war than to depart from that policy: France had obtained this integrity, and would have preserved it with honour, if treason had not arrayed itself in aid of the Allies.

The Treaty of the 2nd of August, and the Act of the British Parliament, called the Emperor Napoleon—Bonaparte, and gave him only the title of General. The title of General Bonaparte is doubtless eminently glorious, the Emperor bore it at Lodi, at Castiglione, at Rivoli, at Arcole, at Leoben, at the Pyramids, at Aboukir; but for seventeen years he has borne that of First Consul and Emperor, which proves that he has been both First Magistrate of the Republic, and Sovereign of the Fourth Dynasty. Those who think that nations are flocks which belong of Divine right to certain families, do not belong to the age, nor do they participate in the Spirit of the English Legislature, which has several times changed the order of its Dynasty, because great changes had taken place in public opinion, in which the reigning Princes not participating, they became enemies to the welfare of the great majority of the nation, for Kings are only hereditary

Magistrates, who exist for the welfare of nations, and not nations for the satisfaction of Kings.

It is in the same hateful spirit that orders have been given that the Emperor Napoleon shall not be allowed to write or receive any letters, unless they are opened and read by the English Ministers and the Officers at St. Helena. They have interdicted to him the possibility of receiving intelligence from his wife, his mother, his son, or his brothers; and when, in order to avoid the inconvenience of having his letters read by subaltern officers, he wished to send letters sealed to the Prince Regent, he was told that the order could not be departed from, and that the letters must pass open, such being the instructions of the Ministry. This conduct needs no observation; it gives rise, however, to strange ideas as to the spirit of the Administration which could dictate what would be disavowed even at Algiers. Letters have arrived at St. Helena, for the officers in the suite of the Emperor; they were broken open and transmitted to you, but you have not communicated them, because they did not come through the channel of the English Ministry. Thus they had to go back 4000 leagues; and these Officers had the grief of knowing that there was intelligence on the Rock from their wives, their mothers, their children, and that they could not know the nature of it for six months—the heart must solace itself!

They could not obtain either *The Morning Chronicle*, *The Morning Post*, or any French journals. Now and then a few stray numbers of *The Times* reached Longwood. In consequence of a request made on board the Northumberland, some books were sent, but all those relative to the affairs of late years have been carefully kept back. He wished to correspond with a Bookseller in London, in order to have direct the books which he wanted, and those relative to the events of the day—this was prevented. An English author, having made a tour in France, and having published an account of it in London, he took the trouble to transmit it to you, in order that it might be presented to the Emperor; you thought proper not to transmit it because it was not sent to you by the express desire of your Government. It is said also, that other books sent by their authors have not been transmitted, because some of them were inscribed to the Emperor Napoleon, and others to Napoleon the Great. The English Ministry is not authorised to order any of these vexations; the law, although unique, by which the British Parliament regards the Emperor Napoleon as a prisoner of war, has never prohibited prisoners of war from subscribing to journals or receiving printed books—such a prohibition only takes place in the dungeons of the Inquisition.

The Island of St. Helena is ten leagues in circumference; it is inaccessible everywhere; brigs surround the coast; posts are stationed on the shore within sight of each other; which render impracticable any communication with the sea. There is only one small town (James Town), where there is an anchorage, and where vessels touch. To prevent an individual from quitting the island, it is sufficient to guard the shore by land and sea. To lay an interdict on the interior of the island can therefore have no other object than to deprive him of a promenade of from eight to ten miles, which it would be possible to make on horseback, and the privation of which will shorten the life of the Emperor. The Emperor has been established at Longwood, ex-

posed to every wind, and where the land is sterile and uninhabitable, without water, and not susceptible of any cultivation. There is a circuit marked out of about 1200 toises; at about 11 or 12,000 distance a camp is established on a hill, and another camp is in an opposite position at the same distance; in short, in the midst of the heat of the the tropics there is nothing to be seen but camps. Admiral Malcolm having learnt the utility which the Emperor would derive from a tent in that situation, caused one to be set up by his sailors at twenty paces distance in front of the house; it was the only place in which a shade could be found. The Emperor had as much reason to be satisfied with the spirit that animated the officers and soldiers of the brave 53rd regiment, as he had been with the crew of the Northumberland.

The house at Longwood was built to serve as a barn for the Company's farm; the Deputy Governor of the Island had since built some Chambers; it served him for a Country house, but it was not in the proper habitable state, workmen have been employed at it for a year, and the Emperor has been continually subjected to the inconvenience and insalubrity of inhabiting a house in the progress of building. The chamber in which he sleeps is too small to contain a bed of ordinary dimensions; but every alteration at Longwood prolongs the inconvenience of having workmen there. There are, however, in this miserable territory, beautiful situations, presenting fine trees, gardens, and good houses. There is, besides, Plantation House; but the positive instructions of Government forbade you from giving up this house, although much expense would thereby have been saved to your Government—an expense incurred in fitting up at Longwood a hut, covered with paper, which is already unserviceable.

You have interdicted all correspondence between us and the inhabitants of the islands—you have in fact placed the house at Longwood *au secret*—you have even prevented any communication with the Officers of the garrison—it seems, therefore, to be your study to deprive us of the little resource which this miserable territory affords, and we are here just as we should be on the insulated and uninhabited rock of Ascension. During the four months that you have been at St. Helena, you have, Sir, rendered the situation of the Emperor much worse. Count Bertrand has observed to you that you violate even the laws of your Legislature, and that you trample under foot the rights of General Officers, prisoners of war. You have replied that you act according to the letter of your instructions, and that your conduct to us is not worse than is dictated by them.

I have the honour to be,
Your very humble and very obedient servant,
(Signed) The GENERAL COUNT DE MONTHOLON.

After I had signed this letter, I received your's of the 17th August, in which you subjoin the account of an annual sum of 20,000*l.* sterling, which you consider indispensable for the support of the expenses of the establishment at Longwood, after having made all the reductions which you thought possible. We do not think we have any thing to do with the discussion of this point; the table of the Emperor is scarcely provided with strict necessaries, and all the provisions are of the worst quality. You ask of the Emperor a fund of 12,000*l.* sterling, as your Government will only allow 8000*l.* for all the expenses. I have

already had the honour of informing you that the Emperor had no funds, that for a year past he had neither written nor received any letter, and that he is altogether ignorant of what has passed, or is passing, in Europe. Transported by force to this rock, without being able to write or to receive any answer, the Emperor is now entirely at the mercy of English agents. The Emperor has always desired, and is still desirous, to provide himself for all his expenses, of whatever nature, and he will do it as soon as you render it possible by taking off the interdiction laid upon the merchants of the Island with regard to his correspondence, and directing that it should not be subjected to any inquisition on your part, or by any of your agents. Thenceforth the wants of the Emperor would be known in Europe, and those persons who interested themselves in his behalf, might send him the funds necessary to provide for them.

The letter of Lord Bathurst, which you have communicated to me, gives birth to strange ideas. Are your Ministers, then, ignorant that the spectacle of a great man in captivity and adversity is a most sublime spectacle? Are they ignorant that Napoleon at St. Helena, in the midst of persecutions of every description, to which he opposes nothing but serenity, is greater, more sacred, and more venerable than when seated upon the first Throne in the world, where for so long a time he was the arbiter of Kings? Those who in such a situation are wanting to Napoleon are blind to their own character and that of the nation which they represent.

MONTHOLON.

'Times,' March 20, 1817.

We spoke yesterday of a singular book, professing itself to be the work of Buonaparte, and containing a summary of his political and military history. With respect to the authenticity of the volume, we hardly know what to say. External evidence there is none in its favour. The internal—the manner and style of the work—would at least lead us to believe that it is the production of a man well acquainted with the life, and familiar even to mimicry with the habits and expressions of Buonaparte, such as they have appeared in his public documents, and the attested accounts of his proceedings. The first extract which we shall make gives a description of those two grand parties which have divided the world in these latter days—the revolutionists, and the friends of the existing order—of that order which is now, we hope we may say, happily re-established; though we wish it had come back shorn of many of its evils—its Inquisition, and its Jesuits; and, in general, its aversion to the slightest and most evident improvement.

'From the moment that I discovered the bottom of the heart of these two factions; from the moment I perceived that they divided the world as in the time of the Reformation, I was aware that any sort of compact between them was impossible, because almost all their

interests clashed too strongly. I was sensible that the more the crisis was abridged, the better it would be for the people. It was necessary that the majority of Europe should be for us, in order to make the balance incline to our side ; and I could only thus dispose the weight in virtue of the law of the strongest, for that is the only law acknowledged among nations. An absolute necessity, therefore, required that I should be the strongest, for I had not only to govern France, but to subject the world to her ; otherwise she must have been annihilated by the world.

'I never had any choice in the measures which I adopted : they were always commanded by events, because the danger was always imminent : and the 31st of March showed to what a degree it was to be dreaded, and whether it was an easy matter for the old and new systems to live in peace together.

'I then clearly foresaw that as long as there should be an equality in the strength of these two systems, there would exist a war, either open or secret, between them. The treaties of peace which they might sign would only be pauses for breathing. It followed, then, that France, as the metropolis of the revolution, should be maintained in a state capable of resisting the tempest. It was requisite that there should be unity in the Government, in order that it might be strong—union in the nation, in order that all its means might be directed to the same object ; and confidence in the people, in order that they might acquiesce in the sacrifices necessary for obtaining success.

'But in the system of the Consulate everything was precarious, because nothing connected with it was in its proper place. There existed under that system a republic in name, and a sovereignty in fact ; a feeble national representation, and a strong executive Power ; authorities in subjection, and a preponderant army.

'Nothing proceeds rightly in a political system in which words disagree with things. The Government is degraded by the perpetual duplicity it practises. It falls into that contempt which awaits everything false ; because whatever is false is feeble. It is besides no longer possible to play double in politics ; nations have been too long acquainted with public affairs, and the newspapers tell them too much for that now to be done. There remains only one secret for leading the world—which is, to be strong ; for in strength there is no error, no illusion ; it is truth exposed naked.

'I felt the weakness of my position, the ridicule of my Consulate. I saw the necessity of establishing something solid to serve as a point of support for the revolution. I was nominated Consul for life. It was a life rent of the sovereign power ; insufficient, however, in itself, since it held out a future epoch ; and nothing is so injurious to confidence as the prospect of a change : but it was passable for the moment in which it was established.'

The account given in this work of the murder of the Duke D'Enghien, and the motives of that atrocious act, vary in some degree from those heretofore assigned. In the work before us Buonaparte seems to have thought the destruction of a Prince of the House of Bourbon necessary, to convince the world that he had no thoughts of re-acting the part of General Monk, and bringing back the Royal Family.

'It was necessary, at all hazards, to undeceive France, the Royalists,

and Europe, in order that all might know what they had to expect from me. A persecution in detail, against words, always has a bad effect; because it does not attack the evil in its root. Besides, this mode of proceeding has become impossible in this age of solicitation, in which the exile of a woman agitates the whole of France.

'At this moment there occurred, unfortunately for me, one of those strokes of chance which destroy the best resolutions. The police discovered some petty Royalist plots, the focus of which was beyond the Rhine. An august head was implicated in these transactions. All the circumstances of this event squared in an incredible manner with those which influenced me to attempt a great measure of state policy. The death of the Duke D'Enghien decided the question which was agitated. It decided it for me past all return. I ordered it.

'A man of much talent, who ought to understand the subject, has said of this transaction, that it was more than a crime, it was a fault. No offence to that personage: it was a crime, and not a fault. I am not ignorant of the value of the words. The offence of that unfortunate Prince was confined to miserable intrigues with some old Baroness of Strasburgh. He played his game. The intriguers were watched. They neither menaced the safety of France nor my safety. He perished the victim of policy, and of an extraordinary concurrence of circumstances.

'His death was no fault, for all the consequences which I foresaw have happened.'

Of the revolutionary interests, as established by his dynasty, he thus speaks:

'The Revolution was finally terminated; it became immovably fixed under a permanent dynasty. The Republic had satisfied opinions only; the Empire guaranteed interests along with opinions.

'These interests were those of the immense majority; because, above all things, the Empire guaranteed equality. In it democracy existed, *de facto et de jure*. Liberty alone was restrained, because it is of no value at the period of a crisis. Besides, liberty is only for the use of the enlightened part of a nation; equality is for the use of all. This is the reason why my power remained popular even during those reverses which have crushed France.'

The conclusion of the work, which speaks of his final surrender to the English, is interesting, whoever may be its author.

'France has respected misfortune in my person up to the moment when I for ever quitted her shores. I might, perhaps, have retired into America, and displayed my defeat in the new world; but one who had reigned over France ought not to disgrace his throne by courting any other glory.

'A prisoner upon another hemisphere, I have nothing left for me to defend, but the reputation which history is preparing for me. It will say, that a man to whom a people was devoted could not have been so wholly destitute of merit as his contemporaries pretend.'

In putting forth the arguments and reasoning of the author and chief actor in this work, we must not be thought to praise or allow of his conduct: with him, convenience, or what he is pleased to call necessity, seems to justify every crime.

From one of the passages above cited, it appears, that it became *necessary* to convince the world that he had no leaning to the

Bourbons, *therefore* he murdered a Prince of that house. From others in the body of the work, he found it *necessary* to enforce the continental system, *therefore* he deluged Spain with blood. It became *necessary* to prove whether France or Russia was most powerful, *thence* the horrors of the Russian campaign. Virtuous minds would argue thus—that whatever projects *necessarily* led to crime should be relinquished.

'Times,' March 22, 1817.

Of the work entitled 'Manuscrit venu de St. Helène,' or its author, we know little more than we did when we last spoke of it. It claims to be written by Buonaparte himself, and is a very singular and interesting production, as our extracts will prove. Its author must be a man familiar with all the occurrences of the Continent, as with 'household names'; and habituated, either from situation or disposition, to view them with a Buonaparte eye, and to draw Buonaparte inferences from them. It is singular that no external evidence should have reached us respecting the author of such a work. The chief impediment to the conviction that it is his whose it professes to be, is, that it tells few or no secrets. We must leave it to time to show whether this proceeds from ignorance in the pretended author, or caution in the real one.

While writing the above we have heard of a rumour, that an inquiry has been instituted respecting the origin of the work, and that there is reason to suppose it does not proceed from Buonaparte, but from some person in France connected with Madame de Stael.

The following is the account of the continental system:

'The vital principle of resistance was in England. I had no means of attacking her hand to hand; and I was certain that the war would be renewed on the Continent as soon as the English Ministry were possessed of the means of defraying its expense. The contest might last long, because the profits of war feed war. It presented a vicious circle, the result of which would be the ruin of the Continent: it was therefore necessary to discover a method of depriving England of the advantages she derived from maritime warfare; with this view the continental system was proposed to me. The plan appeared good, and I accepted it. Few persons understood that system. There was an obstinate disposition to see no other object in it except that of making coffee dear. It was destined to have very different consequences.

'It was calculated to have ruined the trade of England; but in that respect it performed its duty badly; because, as prohibitions always do, it produced high prices, which are always to the advantage of merchants; and because it could not be so completely established as to prevent smuggling.

'But the continental system also served to make a clear distinction

between our friends and our enemies. In this respect we could not be deceived. Attachment to the continental system was a proof of attachment to our cause, for it formed its ensign and palladium.

'This system, which has been so much discussed, was indispensable at the period of its establishment; for a great empire ought not only to have a general tendency for the direction of its policy, but its economy ought to have a like tendency. Industry, as well as everything else, ought to have a route in which to move and advance. This was wanting to France when I traced out her route by giving her the continental system.

'Before the Revolution the economy of France was directed towards the colonies and the trade of barter. Such was then the mode: and with respect to these objects great success was obtained. Highly, however, as the advantages derived from these sources may have been vaunted, their final results were the ruin of the finances of the State, the failure of credit, the destruction of the military system, the loss of consideration abroad, and the languor of agriculture. These advantages led at last to the signing a treaty of commerce, which surrendered up all the means of commercial supply to the English.

'France had, it is true, some few sea-ports, and some merchants with colossal fortunes.

'The maritime system was destroyed, past return, by the war. The ports were ruined. No human force could restore what the revolution had annihilated. Another impulse was then to be given to the spirit of trade, in order to revive French industry. This was only to be done by depriving England of the monopoly of manufacturing industry, in order to make that industry the object of the general tendency of the economy of the State. It was necessary to create the continental system.'

* * * * * * *

'Experience has decided in my favour. I displaced industry from her seat, and made her cross the seas. Manufactures have now made such progress on the Continent, that competition is no longer to be feared. If France would prosper, let her retain my system with a change of name. If she would decline, she need only recommence maritime enterprises; for England will destroy them in the first war. I was compelled to push the continental system to extremes, because its object was not only benefit to France, but injury to England.'

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'From this moment, also, the war assumed a more serious character in England. Her public fortune, that is to say, her existence, was at stake. The war became popular. The English no longer trusted for their protection to auxiliaries: they took it upon themselves, and appeared in large masses in the field. It was then the struggle became perilous: and I received that impression in signing the decree. I suspected that there was no longer any repose for me, and that my life would be spent in combating resistances which the public did not see, but the secret of which I possessed; for I was the only person whom appearances had not deceived. I flattered myself from the bottom of my heart, with remaining master of the future, through the army which I had formed; to such a degree had success rendered it

invincible. I never doubted of success; it moved with facility, because we had renounced the system of camps and magazines. The troops could be transported immediately in all directions; and everywhere they arrived with the consciousness of superiority. With such soldiers what general would not have loved war? I loved it, I confess; still, however, after the affair of Jena, I no longer felt that plenitude of confidence, nor that disregard of consequences to which I was indebted for my first successes. I distrusted myself, and distrust introduced uncertainty into my decisions. My temper was altered, my character degraded. I held a command over myself; but that which is not natural is never perfect.

'The continental system made the English determine on a war of life and death. The north was subdued, and kept down by my garrisons. The English had no longer any intercourse with that part of Europe, except through smuggling. But Portugal had been delivered into their hands; and I know that Spain, under the colour of neutrality, favoured their trade.'

* * * * * * *

He then goes on to state, that it was necessary to force Portugal and Spain into an agreement with his favourite system; and justifies, on this ground, his invasion of those countries, and his particular treachery to the latter; he, however, allows that his management of this part of his scheme was full of blunders; the grossest of which was removing Ferdinand, and thus exciting sympathy for his fate, instead of waiting till the Spanish people had a thorough knowledge of the real character of that Prince: he proceeds as follows:—

'I went to Spain to accelerate events, and to make myself acquainted with the ground on which I had left my brother. I had occupied Madrid, and destroyed the English army which was advancing to succour it. My success was rapid; terror was at its height; resistance was about to terminate: not a moment was to be lost—and none was lost. The English Ministers armed Austria. They were always as active in finding me enemies as I was in beating them.

'The Austrian project was for this time conducted very ably. I was taken by surprise. Justice ought to be done to those who deserve it.

'My armies were scattered about at Naples, at Madrid, at Hamburgh. I was myself in Spain. It was probable that the Austrians might obtain some advantages in the outset, which might lead to further successes. In an affair of this kind the first step is the most important. They might have been able to entice Prussia and Russia, to brush up the courage of the Spaniards, and to give popularity to the English Ministry.

'The policy of the Court of Vienna is of a tenacious sort, which events cannot derange. It was long before I could devise the cause of this. I perceived at last, though too late, that this State was so deeply rooted, merely because the mildness of the Government had allowed it to degenerate into an oligarchy, The State is under the direction of about a hundred nobles. They possess the territory, and govern the finances, politics, and war. Thus they are masters of everything, and leave nothing to the Court but the signing of papers.

'Opinion never changes with oligarchies, because their interests are

always the same. Whatever they do, they do badly; but then they are always in action, because they never die. They never obtain success, but they endure reverse admirably, because they endure it in fellowship.

'Four times was Austria indebted for her safety to this form of Government. It decided the commencement of the war just declared against me.'

* * * * * * *

He then gives a description of the battle known by the name of Essling, or Asperne, and acknowledges that he was worsted. After praising the Arch-duke Charles for the excellence of his military position, he goes on as follows:—

'As we could not stand still for ever, it was necessary to come to some conclusion. The army was in motion. The corps of Marshal Massena debouched first. He had commenced the firing when an accident broke the bridges over the Danube. It was impossible to repair them in time to give him any assistance. He was attacked by the whole army of the enemy. His corps defended itself with heroic bravery, because it had lost all hope. Their ammunition failed, and they were on the point of utter destruction, when the Austrians stopped their fire, thinking, no doubt, that sufficient for one day was the trouble thereof. They took up their former position at the decisive moment of the battle, and thus relieved me from a cruel agony.

'We had, nevertheless, experienced a reverse. I saw this by the state of public opinion. My defeat was made public: my retreat was announced: my ruin was prophesied. The Tyrolese revolted: Prussia and Westphalia were in arms, and strove to excite a general rising against me. The English attempted an expedition against Antwerp, which must have succeeded, but for their blundering. My situation grew worse every day.'

He then mentions the battle of Wagram, which was successful; and ascribes that success in a great measure to a bold manœuvre of Macdonald. He gives the following reasons for having made peace with Austria:—

'The enemy, on the other hand, told the people that they were armed to deliver them from the evils of war, and to reduce the price of English merchandise.

'These insinuations made proselytes. The continuance of the war rendered the resolution unpopular. On that account I wished for peace; but the consent of the English Ministry was to be obtained. Austria undertook to ask it. It was refused.

'This refusal disquieted me. It followed that England possessed resources with which I was unacquainted. I tried to discover them; but in vain.'

NAPOLEON

'Morning Chronicle,' March 25, 1817.

The recent Motion for Papers relating to our treatment of Bonaparte, has excited all the senseless clamour of the Ministerial Press, which has resorted to the usual argument of misrepresentation, notwithstanding Lord Holland's repeated declarations of his having no other motive than to justify our proceedings to foreign powers, who would otherwise receive the complaint with all its aggravations, but without any of the true circumstances attending it. It is absurd to suppose this extraordinary character should not be viewed with some degree of interest, when we look back to the grandeur of the elevation from which he has fallen. Not long since we have seen him with the destinies of Europe in his hands, fenced round, as Mr. Sheridan has eloquently described, by palisades formed with sceptres, and whose sentinels were Kings! A single sentence from him not long since would have assembled Monarchs, and have set whole Kingdoms in arms—and now, so uncertain are all human acquirements, and revolting as it may appear to the pride of our nature, we find him soliciting a few personal comforts for himself and his humble suite. During the whole of Bonaparte's career, no one act of his pre-eminent genius astonished us equally with his return from Elba, which appears like romance and a tale of fiction, rather than an historical truth, for with few more than a boat's crew of followers did he undertake, and succeed in reconquering a powerful Empire. He relied upon the magical charm of his name, and all who have lately travelled on the Continent have had opportunities of knowing, that he depended on a tower of great strength. We shall be told we are admirers of Napoleon, but we despise the accusation, for it is impossible for any reflecting mind not to have been astonished at the extraordinary events of his life, however we may blend our wonder with our curses. And let it be remembered by these thoughtless accusers, that the Ex-Emperor, the object of all their affected scorn, that this single individual is necessarily under confinement to preserve the *World* at peace!

God forbid, that we should become the admirers of any man, who would voluntarily protract the horrors of war a single moment. We look upon Napoleon only as one of the chief actors in the great Drama of History, as one of those warlike Sovereigns whose mad ambition has led them on from conquest to conquest, regardless of the miseries they have inflicted upon their fellow creatures. The history of Charles V. presents us with a similar series of battles, when he too aspired after universal Empire, and presents us also with many disgusting cruelties exercised by his Armies, particularly when the Pope was taken as his prisoner, and Rome delivered up to pillage. We afterwards find him, tired with the cares of Sovereignty, and retired to the humble monastery of St. Justus, where he appeared to view the busy scene he had abandoned, with all the contempt and indifference arising from a thorough experience of its vanity. Such providential instances of the infirmities of our nature cannot but be interesting to the reflecting mind, and they convey a useful lesson alike to the powerful, and to the oppressed.

We recollect too well the many misfortunes which have befallen this country during the reign of Bonaparte, and we recollect also the blunders and profligacy of the Administration of Mr. Pitt, but for which, Bonaparte would have still remained in obscurity. Mr. Fox foresaw, that, to give a *military direction* to the French Revolutionists, would be to spread desolation throughout Europe, and to effect the ruin of this country. He implored his heedless rival to consider this, but Mr. Fox was overwhelmed with every species of calumny, and we are now left to comment upon the bitter experience of facts. Mr. Pitt unfortunately had never travelled, and would always persist in assimilating the peasantry of foreign countries with our own, not allowing them to be in a state of vassallage, unknown to us, passive as mere sheep, little caring who might be their shepherd. We have paid dearly for this, his mistake; Mr. Pitt persevered in his war measures, and Bonaparte seemed to be selected for Fortune's favourite champion in the storm which he had raised.

'Morning Chronicle,' April 24, 1817.

The *Morning Post* says, 'Bonaparte has of late had fourteen sentinels placed round his house, who are kept at a distance in the day-time, but draw up close towards night. The number has been increased since he attempted to make his escape in a lumber chest, which was defeated, and since which he has seldom appeared out of his own house. Our informant says, that three soldiers of the 53rd Regiment, who were only enlisted for seven years, and whose term had expired, came home in the *Adamant*, every one of whom were on guard the night the intended escape was detected.'

'Morning Chronicle,' April 25, 1817.

The accounts of the treatment of Bonaparte in St. Helena, have excited, as might be expected, the keenest interest on the Continent, We mentioned in our Paper of Wednesday last, that the Pamphlet of Santani had been copied entire into the Official Paper of the Court of Vienna. We now extract from a Paper, which we believe to have a wider circulation than any other in Germany, some strictures on the speech of Lord Bathurst in the House of Lords, from which our readers may perceive how the conduct of our Government with regard to Bonaparte is viewed in Germany. We can assure them that

this is far from being the only instance in which the Continental Press has expressed itself loudly against the manner in which Ministers have treated that extraordinary man.

'Should we ask an Englishman if he ever drank Cape Wine—if this has ever been accidentally the case, he would answer without fail, "It is d——d poor stuff." If we should ask him again respecting Teneriffe, he would answer, "It is very sour stuff." Lord Bathurst, in order not to raise the price of Madeira wine—which however is not very dear on the spot, which is drunk daily in very great quantities by the lowest clerks and servants of the East India Company, as it is the most suitable to a warm climate — Lord Bathurst, the friend of humanity, the magnanimous Briton, the Son of a Lord Chancellor, allows for 43 people who have voluntarily followed their Master into his wretched situation—he gives to these men, who truly are not frequently found; in a word he gives to the servants of Bonaparte, who probably could all live without following Bonaparte, and were accustomed to better things, nothing but the most wretched beverage, nothing but *white* and *yellow strap*. The Noble Lord allows to *them* not a drop of porter, a necessary of life in that climate for every person in want of refreshment. He adds, that he does not even allow middling wine, but merely bad wine, and of the Lords in the Upper House, not one says a word on the subject. What in all the world could it signify to the finances of England, that the few faithful servants, who voluntarily accompanied Bonaparte in his adversity, got daily a couple of glasses of French wine, a drink of strong beer, and a glass of stomachic wine to assist their digestion? What are we to say, when we see that in England, and among the present Administration, there are to be found men who have not courage enough to destroy their fallen enemy, as the world would speak of it, but who nevertheless have the disposition to torment him, by tormenting the men who are dear to him on account of their fidelity, and tormenting them merely because they are constant in their fidelity. So much as to the servants of Bonaparte, and the affected magnanimity of the British Gaoler towards them. A couple of words merely as to Bonaparte himself and his table. Lord Bathurst confesses that he interdicted the reading of Journals and Magazines to General Bonaparte, because he thought he perceived that his friends corresponded with him by means of such prints. We have heard indeed of secret means by which a correspondence could be kept up by reference to pages and lines in books; but that by means of Magazines and Journals publicly printed and read by all the world, any secret information could be communicated which the Noble Lord himself could not find out, we certainly never before heard; and people will from henceforward begin to entertain a much higher respect for Journals, when they learn that they not merely serve to expose folly and crime, to make fools more cautious, and knaves more apprehensive, but that every letter of them may have a secret prophetic meaning.

'The cruelty besides, which there is in depriving the many men who have accompanied Bonaparte to the desert of St. Helena of the last means of conversing with the world they left behind them, by means of the dead letter, we leave to those to determine, who in distant lands, after a long interruption, obtain a sight of the Journals of their native country. The fourteen flasks of Champagne of which

Lord Bathurst speaks, are not in the list of Captain Lewis; and in the enumeration of Lord Bathurst there is no date, while there is one in that of the former. One of the Opposition Papers goes even so far as to affirm, that Lord Bathurst's list is but a couple of days old, and consequently is merely imaginary; that it was to leave Plymouth on board the *Conqueror*, with the first fair wind, as a new regulation for St. Helena. But even allowing it to be genuine, is one bottle of Champagne enough for the eleven persons who daily sit at Bonaparte's table? A half flask of Constantia daily for eleven persons for breakfast and desert? Would this have been believed if it had not been said by a British Lord in Parliament? God preserve us from British Ministerial Liberality! A Journalist (*The Times*) endeavours to sweeten the pill by saying—"we really believe, that if Bonaparte or his friends continue their complaining, he must be delivered over to the Spaniards, the Hamburgers, or any other people who have suffered the most from his bloodthirsty ambition."—This Journalist seems to measure the way of thinking of others, and more especially of the Germans, after his own revengeful narrow mindedness. Whoever can allow himself to torment his fallen enemy, even supposing him as in this case the most unrelenting Tyrant, for years, purposely and methodically, proves, that he is no better than the other, and that if he had possessed the same means he would have equally abused them. The German is no executioner—he does not take a delight in slowly torturing his enemy. His indignation is roused, he raises his arm, lays his adversary prostrate, and even sacrifices him to his momentary rage. But he does not hold out his hand to him, does not affect magnanimity towards him, in order to torment him for years till his latter end, and to feast on his sufferings.'

'Morning Chronicle,' May 2, 1817.

The fact of Bonaparte being employed in writing '*Memoirs of his own Life and Times*,' is positively asserted by M. Santini, who says, that when he left St. Helena, 'it was finished down to the end of the Egyptian Expedition.'

We find by the *Monthly Magazine*, that Sir Richard Phillips, who has ascertained the above facts, instantly became desirous of having the publication of the work, and that between him and the Colonial Department the following correspondence has taken place upon the subject:—

LETTER FROM SIR RICHARD PHILLIPS TO EARL BATHURST, SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIAL DEPARTMENT, ETC., ETC.

MY LORD,—I have been credibly informed, that the late Emperor Napoleon has been for some time past engaged in writing annals of his eventful life; and it has appeared to me to be a suitable speculation in

which, as a publisher, to engage as an affair of business. It is however necessary that I should be able to communicate with the author on the subject, and I therefore take the liberty to inquire whether, if I addressed a letter under cover to your Lordship's care, it will be forwarded to him at St. Helena.

Having read in the newspapers your Lordship's late speech in the House of Lords, I am of course duly sensible of the delicacy of making this request, and aware that I ought to seek nothing of your Lordship on this subject, which is inconsistent with the line of policy adopted by the British Government. My letter, therefore, my Lord, would be open, and would be strictly limited to a proposal in regard to the printing and publishing of the work in question, with fidelity and promptitude. I should also request that all communication with me should be made in the usual forms through your Lordship.

I conceive, my Lord, that you will feel that such a work, in its close connexion with the eventful history of the times, is an object of considerable literary interest, and that its publication cannot fail to excite a lively curiosity, as well in this age as in posterity. As materials of history, it could be inferior to no ancient or modern production, and in that view it lays claim to my notice, and will, I hope, entitle this application to the respect of your Lordship.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your most obedient humble servant,

March 29, 1817. R. PHILLIPS.

REPLY OF HENRY GOULBURN, ESQ., UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE, ETC.

Downing Street, April 2, 1817.

SIR,—I am directed by Lord Bathurst to acknowledge the receipt this day of your letter of the 29th ultimo, requesting permission to address a letter either to General Bonaparte or to General Bertrand, on the subject of publishing a work, in which you have been informed that the former is engaged; and to acquaint you that, before giving any reply to your letter, Lord Bathurst is desirous of being informed whether you have received any communication, either from General Bonaparte, or from any person authorized by him to treat with you, on the subject of such a publication.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

HENRY GOULBURN

Sir Richard Phillips, Knt.

SIR RICHARD PHILLIPS TO HENRY GOULBURN, ESQ., UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE, ETC.

SIR,—If you will do me the honour to reconsider my letter to Earl Bathurst, you will perceive that I act merely on the information that the literary and historical work in question is in course of preparation; and that, as a man of business, I am anxious, on my own motion, to open a negotiation for the publication of it.

Under other circumstances, I should have felt no hesitation in addressing the author, or his representative, directly on the subject:

but the actual situation of this author renders it necessary that my communication be made through Earl Bathurst; and it was the object of my letter to learn, whether an overture, in that form and manner, would be allowed to be made.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

April 4, 1817. R. PHILLIPS.

HENRY GOULBURN, ESQ., ETC., TO SIR RICHARD PHILLIPS.

Colonial Office, April 11, 1817.

SIR,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 4th instant, referring to a former letter, and stating your desire to open a negotiation for the publication of a literary and historical work, which you have understood to be in preparation by General Bonaparte, or by one of his suite; and having laid the same before Earl Bathurst, I have received directions to acquaint you that, under the circumstances stated, his Lordship must decline being the medium of forwarding an application to this effect, or of authorizing such a communication being transmitted to General Bonaparte, or to any of his followers.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

HENRY GOULBURN.

To Sir R. Phillips, Knt.

'Times,' August 28, 1817.

The *Cæsar*, which in consequence of the loss of the *Alceste* frigate, recently brought home Lord Amherst and his suite from Batavia, is the bearer of the latest intelligence from St. Helena relative to the health and manner of living of the ex-Emperor of France. The *Cæsar* having occasion to touch at St. Helena, Lord Amherst expressed a desire to be introduced to Buonaparte, and in spite of some obstacles which presented themselves, his lordship, with Captain Maxwell and Mr. Lynn, surgeon of the *Alceste*, was allowed to wait upon him. On the 3rd July Lord Amherst was ushered into Buonaparte's presence at Longwood, whilst Captain Maxwell and the Surgeon waited in an ante chamber. It was not long before those officers were desired to join. There was nothing in the appearance of Buonaparte which in the least indicated ill-health: on the contrary, he looked well, and less bloated than ordinary. In his conversation with the party, his questions were put with his usual rapidity; indeed, they followed each other in such quick succession, that answers could only be given to those which appeared most marked and important. With his general curiosity, Buonaparte inquired of the officers what stations they filled on board the ship, and on learning Mr. Lynn was the surgeon, he inquired what system of pharmacy he pursued. 'That depends upon circumstances,' replied the surgeon. 'I hope,' rejoined the General, 'it is any other than that practised on this island, for here we have the same thing

over and over again—bleeding and calomel for ever.' The conversation taking a turn on the mission of Lord Amherst to China, his Lordship related the cause of its failure; which he ascribed to the necessity imposed upon him by the Emperor, of smiting the ground nineteen times with his forehead; an indignity which his Lordship intimated could not be submitted to. Here Buonaparte's answer showed the man,—'Indeed! Now had it suited my policy to send an ambassador to the Emperor of China, I should have instructed him to kiss his great toe; and if that would not do, he might, if required, have saluted a more offensive part, provided my object could be attained.'

In the course of conversation, Buonaparte said he knew of no law which gave the Powers of Europe the right of detaining him a prisoner at St. Helena or elsewhere; and strongly urged the propriety of his present situation being taken into consideration by the crowned heads of Europe. Notwithstanding his disappointments, he still affects great reliance on the justice of the Prince Regent of England, when unconnected with national policy, and the influence of Ministers; and, with this impression on his mind, he expressed an anxious wish that Lord Amherst would be the bearer of a letter from him to his Royal Highness, which had been prepared some time, with the intention of forwarding it to England. We have reason to believe we are correct in stating, that his Lordship undertook to deliver the letter in question. It is said to be couched in the most respectful terms; but discovers a soreness throughout on account of the unnecessary restraints he alleges that he is made to undergo. The Officers of the late *Alceste* found that he can have the range of the whole island in his exercise of riding, driving, or walking, provided he will allow a British Officer to attend him; but to this he objects. As it is, he may extend his walks about 12 miles, but then he is liable to meet in his perambulations British sentinels at various points, who never fail to present arms to him. Madame Bertrand was seen by the British officers, and the impression made upon them was, that she was a very handsome and clever woman.

'Morning Chronicle,' September 5, 1817.

Extract of a letter from St. Helena, dated in June last:—

'Madame Bertrand continues the same gay creature as ever. She was brought to bed a few days ago. Bonaparte paid her a lying-in visit. She took her child in her arms, and presented it to the ex-Emperor, saying, "Sire, I have the pleasure of shewing you a great curiosity—in a word, an *unique*, the *first stranger* that ever was allowed to approach your Majesty in this island, without permission from the Governor, or an order from the Secretary of State."—Bonaparte was quite pleased at the *bon mot*, and laughed heartily.'

It would appear that the recollection of the landing of Bonaparte in 1815, and the great political agitations of the last three

years, had rendered the people in the south of France alive to every idle rumour, and disposed to rely on every absurd conjecture connected with revolution or invasion. An instance of this liability to fear, and this species of stupid credulity, occurred lately in the neighbourhood of Marseilles. Prince Hohenloe, a Lieutenant-General in the service of France, having inspected the garrison of Montpellier, was proceeding to Marseilles, and on purpose that he might arrive more quickly at his destination, embarked at Cette; but meeting with contrary winds, was obliged to disembark at the mouth of the Rhone, and thence continue his journey by land. His unexpected appearance on a part of the coast little frequented by ships, and inhabited only by poor fishermen, gave rise to many conjectures, which the uniform of a foreign legion in which he was attired, and the orders of the different Powers of Europe with which he was decorated, easily directed to political objects. Rumour was busy with her hundred tongues, and propagated a thousand alarms. The disembarkation of an unattended General was transformed into a dangerous invasion of an enemy or a usurper. The public tranquillity was considered as menaced; the civil and military authorities hastened to their posts, and instituted measures of precaution; and so general was alarm, that the journal of Marseilles, which mentions the delusion, thought it necessary to detail the circumstances, in order to recompose the public mind.

'Morning Chronicle,' October 7, 1817.

(FROM MR. ELLIS'S JOURNAL OF THE EMBASSY TO CHINA.)

We have heard so much at the Cape of the vicissitudes of temper to which Bonaparte was subject, that we were by no means confident of being admitted to his presence; fortunately for us, the ex-Emperor was in good humour, and the interview took place on this day.

Lord Amherst was first introduced to Bonaparte by General Bertrand, and remained alone with him for more than an hour. I was next called in, and presented by Lord Amherst. Bonaparte having continued in discourse about half an hour, Captain Maxwell and the gentlemen of the embassy were afterwards introduced and presented. He put questions to each, having some relation to their respective situation; and we all united in remarking that his manners were simple and affable, without wanting dignity. I was most struck with the unsubdued ease of his behaviour and appearance; he could not have been freer from embarrassment and depression in the zenith of his power at the Tuilleries.

Bonaparte rather declaimed than conversed, and during the half hour Lord Amherst and I were with him, seemed only anxious to impress his sentiments upon the recollection of his auditors, probably for the purpose of having them repeated. His style is highly epigrammatic, and he delivers his opinions with the oracular confidence of a

man accustomed to produce conviction : his mode of discussing great political questions would in another appear *charlatanerie*, but in him is only the development of the empirical system, which he universally adopted. Notwithstanding the attention which he might be supposed to have given to the nature of our Government, he has certainly a very imperfect knowledge of the subject ; all his observations on the policy of England, as relating to the past, or looking to the future, were adapted to a despotism ; and he is either unable or unwilling to take into consideration the difference produced by the will of the monarch being subordinate, not only to the interests, but to the opinion of his people.

He used metaphors and illustration with great freedom, borrowing the latter chiefly from medicine: his elocution was rapid, but clear and forcible; and both his manner and language surpassed my expectations. The character of his countenance is rather intellectual than commanding, and the chief peculiarity is in the mouth, the upper lip apparently changing in expression with the variety and succession of his ideas. In person Bonaparte is so far from being extremely corpulent, as has been represented, that I believe he was never more capable of undergoing the fatigues of a campaign than at present. I should describe him as short and muscular, not more inclined to corpulency than men often are at his age.

Bonaparte's complaints respecting his situation at St. Helena would not, I think, have excited much attention if they had not become a subject of discussion in the House of Lords ; for as he denied our right to consider him a prisoner of war, in opposition to the most obvious principles of reason and law, it was not to be expected that any treatment he might receive consequent to his being so considered, would be acceptable. On the other hand, admitting him to be a prisoner, it is difficult to imagine upon what grounds he can complain of the limited restraint under which he is placed at St. Helena.

His complaints respecting a scanty supply of provisions and wine (for I consider Montholon as the organ of Bonaparte) are too absurd to deserve consideration, and it is impossible not to regret, that anger, real or pretended, should have induced so great a man to countenance such petty misrepresentations. I must confess that the positive statements which had been made respecting the badness of the accommodations at Longwood had produced a partial belief in my mind ; even this, however, was removed by actual observation. Longwood House, considered as a residence for a sovereign, is certainly small, and perhaps inadequate ; but viewed as the habitation of a person of rank, disposed to live without show, is both convenient and respectable. Better situations may be found in the island, and Plantation House is in every respect a superior residence ; but that is intended for the reception of numerous guests, and for the degree of exterior splendour belonging to the office of Governor.

The two remaining circumstances of Bonaparte's situation deserving attention are the restraints which may affect his personal liberty, and those which relate to his intercourse with others. With respect to the first, Bonaparte assumes as a principle that his escape, while watched by the forts and men of war, is impossible ; and that, therefore, his liberty within the precincts of the island, ought to be unfettered. The truth of this principle is obviously questionable, and the consequence is

overthrown by the fact of his being a prisoner, whose detention is of importance sufficient to justify the most rigorous precautions; his own conclusion is nevertheless admitted to the extent of allowing him to go to any part of the island, provided he be accompanied by a British Officer; for all justifiable purposes this permission is sufficient; nor is it intended to be nullified in practice by undue interference on the part of the officer in attendance. For purposes of health or amusement he has a range of four miles, unaccompanied and without being overlooked; another of eight miles, where he is partially in view of the sentries; and a still wider circuit of twelve miles, throughout which he is under their observation. In both these latter spaces he is also free from the attendance of an officer. At night, indeed, the sentries close round the house. I can scarcely imagine that greater personal liberty, consistent with any pretention to security, could be granted to an individual, supposed under any restraint at all.

His intercourse with others is certainly under immediate surveillance, no person being allowed to enter the inclosure at Longwood without a pass from the Governor; but these passes are readily granted, and neither the curiosity of individuals, nor the personal gratification which Bonaparte may be expected to derive from their visits, are checked by pretended difficulties or arbitrary regulations. His correspondence is also under restraint, and he is not allowed to send or receive letters but through the medium of the governor; this regulation is no doubt disagreeable, and may be distressing to his feelings; but it is a necessary consequence of being what he now is, and what he has been.

Two motives may, I think, be assigned for Bonaparte's unreasonable complaints: the first, and principal, is to keep alive public interest in Europe, but chiefly in England, where he flatters himself that he has a party; and the second, I think, may be traced to the personal character and habits of Bonaparte, who finds an occupation in the petty intrigues by which these complaints are brought forward, and an unworthy gratification in the *tracasseries* and annoyance which they produce on the spot.

If this conjecture be founded, time alone, and a conviction of their inutility, will induce Bonaparte to desist from his complaints, and to consider his situation in its true light; as a confinement with fewer restrictions upon his personal liberty, than justifiable caution, uninfluenced by liberality, would have established.

'Times,' Oct. 21st, 1817.

So long as Buonaparte lives, he will occasionally supply amusement to idle people, by anecdotes published respecting him, entitled to more or less credit; and, after his death, it is conceived that he will not fail to excite a fresh and more lively interest by a work of his own, in which he is now said to be engaged. It is rather singular that the

sanctity of the latter should have been violated by some man professing himself to be a friend of the ex-Imperial author. There was a time when few people would have ventured to take a work out of Buonaparte's own hands on the pretence of serving him; but, when a great man is once degraded, friends as well as foes alter their conduct towards him. The latter insult, the former take liberties with him.

The work of Mr. Warden, the surgeon on board the *Northumberland* respecting Buonaparte, excited, it will be recollected, peculiar interest at the time of its publication. The ardent adherents of established Governments thought it too favourable to the overthrower of thrones, after his own was overthrown. But it seems that the friends of every tyranny but legitimate, that is to say, the Jacobins, conceived their champion but scurvily used by the Surgeon; and to repair the wrong done him, a series of letters, equal in number to those of Mr. Warden, are just published, entitled 'Letters from the Cape of Good Hope, in reply to Mr. Warden; with Extracts from the great Work now compiling for publication under the inspection of Napoleon.' The latter part of the title-page certainly contains expressions of mighty promise: but, unluckily, they immediately excite an inquiry who it is that has had a dip in Napoleon's portfolio; and to this no answer can be returned. The world was competent to judge of Mr. Warden's pretensions, his means of observation, and his consequent claim to credit; for he put his name to his letters. Those now published are anonymous; and what right a man can have to be believed when he tells us that he has had access to this or that fountain of original information, but does not tell us who he is, is too obvious to need explanation. The extracts, therefore, given in these letters as proceeding from the 'great work' supposed to be writing by Buonaparte, are all 'a fudge,' as Dr. Goldsmith calls it in the 'Vicar of Wakefield;' the only book in which the extracts will appear being that before us, which is a little one. The author has, however, picked up a few anecdotes about Buonaparte, probably among some of the inferior attendants on his person; and speaks and reasons on his actions, without any display of access to secret history, but in a manner in which those would speak who are acquainted with the incidents of his life, and happen, by a perversion of intellect, or through depravity of heart, to admire his character. But why are the letters said to be written in reply to Mr. Warden? They do not go to the direct contradiction of his statement: on the contrary, the great body of it is confirmed, and rendered more credible, so far as a known writer can be corroborated by an anonymous one. After this general character of the work, we proceed to give some extracts from it not devoid of interest.

The beginning of the third letter is occupied in the account and justification of Buonaparte's return from Elba. The latter part goes back to the Egyptian expedition, and the King of Spain.

'Cape of Good Hope, May 1, 1817.

'My dear Lady C.,—In reviewing Mr. Warden's third letter, a more difficult task presents itself, and more important subjects are to be discussed. It is asserted in it, that the Duke of Bassano was at the head of the conspiracy to bring back Napoleon into France; that numbers of individuals were despatched from France to Elba; and

that Napoleon was induced to think that the English were determined to send him to St. Helena, &c. These accounts are entirely contrary to what I have read in any of the *Longwood* manuscripts; to what I have been told in different conversations with Marshal Bertrand, and learned, even from the mouth of Napoleon himself, who has been frequently heard to declare, "that in his return from Elba he had no other co-operator than *the Count d'Artois, his two sons, and his daughter-in-law;* that it was *their* measures, and those which *they* inspired, to the Government of the Tuileries, which convinced him that they were insulated in the midst of the nation, and had only in their favour the emigrant party and the counter revolutionists."

'In this same manuscript it is stated, that Napoleon was determined to go and replace himself upon the Imperial throne, from his own private impulse, and guided by the sole aspect of the acts of the Royal Government; that, in departing from Fontainbleau, in 1814, he said, "If the Bourbons govern as the chiefs of the fifth dynasty they will succeed; if, on the contrary, they endeavour to continue the third, they will not remain long:" that before departing from Elba, several of his suite were desirous that he should inform himself of Massena's sentiments, who commanded upon the coast where the disembarkation was to be effected, and also how the General who commanded at Grenoble was affected towards him: that he, however, instantly rejected both propositions, saying, "If I have preserved the hearts of the people and the army, they will soon bend to their sovereign will the inclinations of all particular persons; if I have lost them, I have nothing to hope from the influence of a few individuals. It is by means of the imagination and the opinions of great bodies that I have always acted." His subsequent success, and the acclamations with which he was received by the people and the army, have surprised all the world. It is said that Marshal Soult (who, according to the above-mentioned manuscript, really served the King faithfully) thought, when he first heard of the landing, that a few gens-d'armes would be sufficient to defeat the attempt; or that Buonaparte would proceed to Italy; but that he afterwards confessed the events which had taken place had been to him a revelation of the secret feelings of the nation and the army, of which he had not entertained the slightest idea before. Cambaceres, Savary, Fouché, Carnot, and several others, frequently expressed a similar opinion: they never doubted that Napoleon had a great many partisans: but they had not believed it possible that he could have arrived at Paris, in the manner he did, without firing a musket.

Here we must observe, that the author most ingeniously refutes his own reasonings; for if, as he acknowledges, such men as Soult, Savary, Fouché, and Carnot, believed Bonaparte only to have possessed partisans in France, he must be a bold man indeed, that in the face of such evidence can assert, that he was seated in the affections of the whole people. But to proceed.

'With respect to the treaty of Fontainbleau, Napoleon asserts that the Allies did not adhere to it in any point (as you have seen so ably shown by Earl Grey, in his speech in the House of Lords), and that justice was entirely on his side. He affirms that there were no less than ten material violations of the treaty on the part of the Allies, which being curious to learn, I subsequently obtained and entered in

my journal, in the words of the person I heard them from. 1st. Passports were to have been given to all Napoleon's family, in order to admit them to follow him; but, notwithstanding this, his wife and son were seized and sent to Vienna. 2dly. He was to have been considered and treated as Emperor, and his wife as Empress; but the French Court would never acknowledge this condition; on the contrary, Louis seated upon the throne at Paris, and his *pretended legitimate* party, had considered the imperial government as an usurped one, had dated his acts in the 19th year of his reign, and acted as if Napoleon had never governed either as First Consul or Emperor. 3dly. Prince Eugene was to have had a sovereignty in Italy: this formed an article in the treaty of Fontainbleau; but the Congress, by its own authority, excluded him from that, instigated, no doubt, by the *legitimate* party. 4thly. The Empress Marie Louise, and her son, were to have the Duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla: both were deprived of them by the Congress at Vienna, upon the same principle of *legitimacy*. 5thly. The army was to have preserved all the endowments assigned it upon the funds of the establishment at the Mount Napoleon, which were, however, all suppressed. 6thly. The island of Elba required troops to defend it, and produced nothing. The French Court was to pay Napoleon two millions for his own support, and that of the island. This article was violated; and several English travellers declared at Elba, that when present at different dinners, and amongst others at the Duke de Fleury's, they had heard it declared, that it never *had been intended to be paid*, and *never would be;* the papers asserted positively the same, *and in fact payment never was made.* 7thly. Napoleon's brothers and his mother had certain revenues assigned to them, which were never paid. 8thly. A rent charge of 100,000 francs had been made upon the great book of France, to be paid to such persons as Napoleon thought proper. Assignments were accordingly made, which were refused to be entered upon the great book. 9thly. Napoleon s private property was to be preserved to him, and particularly the funds which had arisen from the savings made by him in the civil list. Now all the funds arising from such savings, which amounted to a considerable sum, and had been placed in the hands of the treasurer Labouellière, were seized upon, contrary to the spirit of the treaty, and all the requisitions made by Napoleon in his own private right were disregarded. 10thly. The private properties of Napoleon's family were to be respected; in violation of this condition, however, they were sequestrated by the King. "Here, then," said Las Casas, "are ten manifest violations of the treaty made by the Allies, for which no justification can be offered; but," continued he, "where is the right of nations, or where is the treaty which has not been violated by the Congress of Vienna? the controlling powers of which were not actuated, either by the interests or the happiness of Europe, but solely by their own ambition!"'

The Egyptian expedition follows:

'I heard Napoleon converse several times on board the *Northumberland*, with the captain of marines, about the siege of Acre, at which that officer was present. He appeared to discourse of it with that pleasure which is commonly experienced in relating past events,

particularly those in which more or less danger had been encountered, I heard him relate a striking instance of devotion manifested towards himself, by two of his guards, during that memorable siege. Being at the trenches, Napoleon sunk into a hole made by a shell, which fell between his legs: two of his guards, named, I think, Dumesnil and Charbonet, ran up, grasped him, one before and the other behind, and remained in that position until the shell exploded, of which several fragments fell at his feet, without, however, hurting either himself or the brave fellows who had behaved so heroically. The failure of the attack is principally attributed to the capture of four xebecs laden with twelve 24 pounders, some mortars and ammunition, by the English squadron, at the moment they had entered the port of Caifa under Mount Carmel.

'Several errors have crept into this letter of Mr. Warden. It is there stated that Napoleon had professed Mahometanism in Egypt through policy; this he denies ever to have done, and says that Menou was the only French officer of any distinction that ever embraced that religion. I have read in the Campaigns of Egypt, two very interesting chapters, one relative to the Christian religion and Mahometanism, full of novel ideas; and the other relative to the "*Fetham*" issued by the great Cheicks of Semil-Azar, concerning the oath of obedience, and in which are detailed the means by which he obtained this *Fetham* from the ministers of the grand mosque at Cairo; from both of which it appears that Napoleon maintains as a principle, that in all matters above human comprehension every one ought to continue in the religion of his forefathers, and in the bosom of which he was born. The following extracts were made from it relative to the deliberation of the 60 doctors of the mosque at Cairo and Semil-Azar.

'"The Koran ordains, either to exterminate infidels, or to make them submit to tribute; it does not admit of either obedience or submission to an infidel Power, which is contrary to the spirit of our holy religion: 'Render unto Cesar the things which are *Cesar's*,' saith Jesus Christ; and elsewhere, '*My kingdom is not of this world: obey the powers.*' In the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries the Christians ruled in Syria, but religion was the cause of constant wars. It was a war of extermination. To it Europe sent thousands of men, who there perished. If such a spirit had animated the Egyptians, it would not have been possible for 25,000 or 30,000 Frenchmen, who, moreover, were not animated by any fanaticism, but, on the contrary, greatly disgusted with the country, to have maintained a similar contest. Although masters of Cairo and Alexandria, and victorious over the Mamelukes at the Pyramids, still the question of the conquest was not decided without first conciliating the Imams, the Muphtis, the Ulmas, and all the ministers of the Mahometan religion. The French army, from the time of the revolution, did not profess or practise *any* religion: even in Italy, the army never went to church. Advantage was taken of this circumstance. The French army was represented to the Mussulmen as an army of Catechumens, disposed to embrace the Mahometan religion. The Christian sects, Cophts, Greeks, Syrians, Latins, who were very numerous, wanted to profit by the presence of the French in order to relieve themselves from the different restrictions which had been imposed upon their worship: Napoleon, however, opposed this, and took care to maintain religious matters upon the

then existing footing. Every day at sunrise the 60 Cheicks of the great mosque of Semil-Azar (a kind of Sorbonne) presented themselves at his levee. He there caused sherbet and coffee to be served to them, and loaded them with marks of esteem and consideration. He frequently conversed at length with them, respecting the different circumstances of the life of their prophet, and of chapters of the Koran. After his return from the battle at Salleis, he proposed to them to issue a *Fetham*, which should be read in all the mosques of Egypt, and in which the great Cheicks should order all the people to take an oath of obedience to him (Napoleon), whom they called Sultan Kiber. At the proposal they turned pale, and were greatly embarrassed: after some hesitation, the Cheick Sap Kao, a respectable old man, said to Napoleon, 'Why do you not become a Mussulman, and make all your army do the same? Then 100,000 men would rush to your standards; and, disciplined in *your* manner, you could soon re-establish the Arabian kingdom, and subdue the East.' To this Napoleon objected *circumcision*, to which he could not submit his army; and, afterwards, the prohibition contained in the Koran, to drink wine, alleging that, being people from the north, such beverage was indispensably necessary to the French soldiers. After several discussions upon the subject, it was decided that the great Cheicks of Semil-Azar should unite together, and endeavour to find means to do away with the two above-mentioned obstacles. The disputes upon the question ran high, and lasted for three weeks; but the rumour which prevailed through all Egypt that the great Cheicks were employed in concerting together measures, in order to render the army Mussulmen, filled the minds of the inhabitants with joy, and the French soon experienced a great melioration in the public spirit, and were no longer considered as infidels. When the Ulmas had agreed in opinion, four Muphtis brought the *Fetham*, in which it was declared that *circumcision* being only a *perfection*, was not indispensably necessary in order to be a Mussulman; that likewise Mussulmen might drink wine, and still be Mussulmen; but that, in this last case, there was no hope of paradise in the next world. One half of the great difficulty was thus removed; but it was not easy to persuade the Muphtis that the latter part of their decision was unreasonable: to accomplish this, was the object of the discussions for six weeks more; finally, however, they issued a *Fetham*, declaring that it was possible to be a Mussulman and drink wine, provided that, for every bottle of wine so drunk, some good action was performed. It was then agreed, that some time was requisite to prepare everything necessary for this great event; accordingly, the plan of a mosque, larger than that of Semil-Azar, was sketched out, which Napoleon declared should be built, in order to serve as a monument to commemorate the epoch of the conversion of the French army. This succeeded so well in gaining their opinions, that the *Fetham* of obedience was given by the Cheicks—the Sultan Kiber declared to be the *Friend of the Prophet*, and *specially* protected by him—and a report was universally circulated that, before the expiration of a year, all the army would assume the turban." This, it is stated, was the line of march which Napoleon invariably pursued, viz., reconciling the desire which he had to continue in the same religion in which he was born, with the necessities of his policy and his ambition. During the stay of the French army in Egypt, Gen. Menou alone became a

Mussulman, which was said to have been useful, and to have produced a good effect upon the minds of the inhabitants: when the French army quitted Egypt, however, 500 or 600 remained behind, who embraced Mahometanism, and enrolled themselves amongst the Mamelukes.'

[*To be continued.*]

'Morning Chronicle,' October 22, 1817.

ANSWER TO MR. WARDEN.

The '*Letters from the Cape of Good Hope in reply to Mr. Warden, with Extracts from the Great Work now compiling for Publication under the inspection of Napoleon*,' which we have before more than once alluded to, were published yesterday by Ridgway. The work is dated in the month of April last, and bears internal evidence of having proceeded from some person who has had opportunities of frequent access to Bonaparte, or the persons in his confidence. The first letter thus speaks of Mr. Warden's book :—

'I was well acquainted with Mr. Warden, both on board of the Northumberland and at St. Helena, and esteemed him a man of talent; he was particularly noticed for the ardent curiosity which he displayed for everything concerning Napoleon; but, not understanding either French or Italian, the only modern languages spoken by the great man in question, he consequently had no other opportunity of learning what he relates, than either by means of the interpretation of Count de Las Casas, who, having lived some years in England, understands our language, although he speaks it very incorrectly, and with considerable hesitation; or of General Bertrand, who possesses the facility of speaking it in a lesser degree than even the other. Amongst all the French embarked, Madame Bertrand is the only one who speaks English with facility, and with an accurate pronunciation. This simple observation would of itself be sufficient to enable you to form a correct judgment as to the exactness of Mr. Warden's relations.' The author, who signs himself C——, gives the following account of his means of information :—

'During the passage in the *Northumberland*, I have had the honour once or twice a week of holding a conversation of some minutes' duration with Napoleon; and a day never elapsed without my having had breakfast with the Officers of his suite. At St. Helena I frequently breakfasted with Madame Bertrand, and twice I had an interview, of more than a quarter of an hour each time, with Napoleon himself. I was also particularly intimate with Count de Las Casas, whom I have often seen at Briars, and in his own apartment at Longwood.'

The eight letters of which the work is composed follow the statements in Mr. Warden's letters in detail—in some instances denying his assertions, in others substituting counter-statements. The extracts which are given from the Historical Memoirs of Napoleon, have nothing

of these epigrammatic turns which were remarked in the *Manuscrit venu de St. Hélène.* We shall give those extracts which relate to the transactions of Napoleon's life, which have given rise to the greatest number of speculations as to his motives. After an account of the various projects to assassinate Bonaparte during his Consulate, especially the explosion of the infernal machine, the author proceeds to say:—

'In the same manuscript the conspiracy of Moreau, Pichegru and Georges is related as follows: "Pichegru and Georges were disembarked from English ships from the coast of France, seconded from the borders of Germany by the intrigues of ——— at Munich and ——— at Stutgard. It was proved that a Prince of the House of Bourbon was to disembark at the Palaise de Beville, as soon as intelligence should be received of the assassination of Napoleon. And as fears were entertained that the wind, always independent, and never subordinate to the vain calculations of man, should prove unfavourable, and prevent the intended disembarkation, it was decided, that the Duc d'Enghien, then in Germany, should, immediately on being made acquainted with it, proceed to Paris as the representative of the King, for it was deemed that the presence of a Prince of the Blood was indispensable. The Duc d'Enghien, a young Prince of the greatest bravery, lived four leagues from the frontiers of France. It was proved that he there carried on a correspondence with Strasburg, where his agents had shown themselves, and that several times in the week, under pretence of hunting, he had conferences upon the banks of the Rhine with agents from the interior; that all the agents in the English pay had received orders to unite in the Brisgau, and the duchy of Baden; that this Prince had with him, at Offembourg, a person named Massey, an emigrant-agent, who served as the means of his correspondence with ——— and ———, and furnished the necessary supplies of money for all the plots. Upon this, Napoleon judged that it was absolutely necessary to secure the person of the Duc d'Enghien, and accordingly a regiment of Dragoons crossed the Rhine at Neuf-Brisach, at seven in the evening; invested the Prince's house in the night, made him a prisoner, and conducted him to Strasburg, from whence he was instantly taken to Paris, brought before a military commission according to the laws, condemned to death, and the sentence executed and posted up all over Paris. The tribunal was not composed arbitrarily, but formed according to law of all the Colonels in the garrison of Paris. The Prince avowed his having borne arms against the Republic, having solicited and obtained a new employment from England, and being privy to, and taking an active part in, the events of the day." In the manuscript Napoleon is made to state "that if the Count d'Artois had been taken under similar circumstances, he would have been tried and executed in a like manner; that the laws of France were positive against those who bore arms against their country; the Prince was besides one of the chiefs of the great conspiracy then plotting."

'Even those who wished to maintain that he was not privy to the conspiracy, have agreed, that his death was to be attributed to the Count d'Artois (in fact, the latter was frequently reproached by the unfortunate Prince's father, the Duke de Bourbon, as having been so); who, at the moment while he was planning the overturning of the

Republic, and the assassination of the First Magistrate of the Republic, left a Prince of his blood in the power of that very Magistrate.—"The affair of the Duc d'Enghien," says Napoleon, "ought to be judged by the law of nature and policy." "By the law of nature," he maintains, "that he was not only authorised to cause him to be tried, but even to procure his being put to death. What," said he, "can be alleged in favour of the Princes of a house who were publicly convicted of being the contrivers of the infernal machine, and who had actually disgorged sixty brigands upon Paris, for the purpose of causing me to be assassinated? Was not I, by the laws of nature, authorised to cause the Count d'Artois to be assassinated in London? By the law of policy, the whole Republic tottered upon the brink of a precipice, and the Duc d'Enghien was one of the chiefs who conspired its fall; and besides, it was necessary to check the audacity of the Bourbons, who had sent to Paris sixty of their adherents, amongst whom were the Rivieres, the Polignacs, Bouvets and others; people of no ordinary stamp, and not brigands or murderers accustomed to assassinations and robberies like the Chouans. The Republican Government could not, consistent with its dignity, do less, when the assassination of its Chief was publicly plotted, than cause its thunder to strike the family which dared to engage in such attempt."'

The following is a part of a narration of the taking of Jaffa, extracted from the chapters of the Historical Memoirs of the Campaigns of Syria, which had been lent to the author by Count de Las Casas: an interesting detail is previously given of the siege of El Arish, and the march of the French Army over the desert:—

'Napoleon, however, secretly concluded an armistice with the Pacha, and, being thereby in security with respect to his right flank, marched against Jaffa on the 4th, which was invested and several batteries of twelve-pounders directed against it. It was fortified only by a single wall, but there was a garrison of six or seven hundred men, amongst whom was a corps of artillery from Constantinople, which had been instructed by French officers. When the batteries were ready to open, a flag of truce was sent to summon the place; a quarter of an hour afterwards, the head of the unfortunate man who had borne it was seen stuck upon the end of a pike, and his mutilated carcase thrown over the walls. This was the signal to begin: in three hours a breach was made in one of the towers; forty or fifty grenadiers and a dozen of sappers made a lodgment in it; the column followed; the place was taken by assault; nothing could stop the fury of the soldiery; almost every body they encountered was shot, and the place delivered up to pillage. During the night the disorder was terrible, and no sort of order could be established until day. As many as had been saved of the unfortunate garrison were sent prisoners to Egypt, with the exception of about eight hundred men who were shot. They were the remainder of the twelve hundred of the garrison of El-Arish, who, after having marched three days in the direction of Bagdat,* had changed their

* The Capitulation of El-Arish:

'The Commandant of the fort of El-Arish, and the other three Commandants of the troops, to the General-in-Chief.

'We have received the capitulation which you have addressed to us. We consent to deliver into your hands the fort of El-Arish. We will return to Bagdat by the Desert. We send you the list of the Agas of the fort, who promise, upon oath, for themselves and their troops, not to serve Djezzar's army, and not to return to Syria for the space of one year, reckoning from this day. We will receive a pass and colours from you. We

route, violated their capitulation, and thrown themselves into Jaffa. Prudence would not admit of their being sent to Cairo. Accustomed to the Desert, they would have all escaped in their march, and they would have been found again in Acre. About four thousand Turks perished in Jaffa, and about three thousand were saved, namely, twelve hundred sent prisoners to Egypt: thirteen hundred soldiers and servants, natives of Egypt, who were set at liberty as fellow-countrymen; and five hundred were sent to carry the news of the French victory to Damascus, Jerusalem, Aleppo, &c., &c.'

'The Times,' Oct. 22nd, 1817.

WORK RESPECTING BUONAPARTE, IN REPLY TO MR. WARDEN.

We have before stated, that the intimation thrown out in these letters, that they contain several extracts from Buonaparte's own work on himself, is a deception. We do not know whether the author even means it to be believed; perhaps it is simply a fable which he invents, for the sake of introducing his own opinions more adroitly, as what Buonaparte or his friends might say on such or such subjects; but, if so, his meaning is not sufficiently obvious. If he really wishes to have it thought that he has had access to Buonaparte's private writings, he is neither more nor less than an infamous impostor. However, he certainly writes and reasons like one deeply attached to the *detenu* at St. Helena, his principles and party; but a man might write in that manner, and quite as well as he, without ever having been at St. Helena, or in Buonaparte's presence at all. On the contrary, we all know that Mr. Warden, whom he attempts in some instances to correct, was an authentic witness of what he related.

We continue our extracts:—

'I will finish this letter with a few details relative to Ferdinand VII. of whom I have heard and read as follows:—Ferdinand was placed at Valençai in the Prince of Benevento's château, one of the most beautiful in France, situated in the midst of a vast forest. His brother and uncle were with him. No guard was placed over them; they were at liberty to receive whomever they pleased, and all their officers and servants were with them. They frequently went out to the distance of three or four leagues, either to hunt, or in their carriages, without being spoken to or observed. Independent of 3000*l.* sterling, paid

will leave in the castle all the supplies which are found there. The whole of the Agas in the fort, solemnly swear by our Lord, Moses, Abraham, by the Prophet (to whom may God be propitious), and by the Koran, to execute faithfully all these articles, and above all, not to serve Djezzar.—The Most High, and his Prophet, are witnesses of our good faith. (Signed) 'Ibrahim Niran, Commandant of the fort of El-Arish.
'El. H. Hadjy Mohammed, Colonel of the Mogrebins.
'El. H. Hadjy Zadyr, Aga of the Arnauts.
'Mohammed Aga, Chief of the Commissaries.'

annually by the French treasury to Talleyrand for rent, Ferdinand had 60,000*l.* sterling yearly allowed to him for his support. These were all stipulations made in a treaty which had been entered into and ratified.

'The prince wrote regularly every month to Napoleon, and received answers from him. On the 15th of August (the Empress's fête), he illuminated Valençai, and distributed alms. He asked permission several times of Napoleon to visit Paris, and was put off from time to time. He also entreated *earnestly* of Napoleon to adopt him as his son, and to marry him to a French woman. During the whole of the time that he was at Valençai, there were no grounds whatever of complaint. He had in that house the use of a superb library, from which he acquired a good deal of instruction. He had his almoners and confessors; frequently received visits from the neighbouring gentlemen and merchants from Paris; the latter of whom were very assiduous in bringing him everything that was new. For a long time he had a theatre, to which he attached some comedians; but latterly his confessors inspired him with some scruples, and he dismissed the troop. The King his father, and the Queen his mother, were a long time at Compiegne; from thence they went to Marseilles, and afterwards to Rome, where they were lodged in Prince Borghese's palace. They had 120,000*l.* sterling per annum allowed them. The Queen of Etruria, Ferdinand's sister, was one of those who took the warmest part in the Spanish revolution. Her correspondence with Murat, then commanding in Spain, is extremely curious, being full of invectives and inculpations of the most criminal nature against Ferdinand. She was of her mother's party against her brother, and acted her part with great zeal. She remained a long time at Nice. She was extremely ugly, and with a very limited share of either talent or information, though possessed of some activity of mind. She afterward opened a correspondence with the English officer commanding in the Mediterranean. It is stated that Napoleon, on hearing that she intended quitting France, caused it to be signified to her, that he would be extremely glad to learn that she was gone either to England or Sicily, or indeed to any other European country; in fact, he considered her of no importance, and felt that her departure would save the 10 or 12,000*l.* yearly, which she cost the Government.

'It is asserted that Ferdinand invariably testified great aversion to the Cortes, and extreme repugnance to the English, notwithstanding their exertions in his favour; and that he frequently declared he should prefer remaining at Valençai to reigning in Spain with the Cortes, and that he never concealed his intention to re-establish all matters as they stood before the revolution, especially the *Inquisition*. Napoleon says that the Spanish nation will deplore, for a length of time, that the constitution of Bayonne was not successful; that, had it been so, they would have had no monks, no ecclesiastical jurisdiction, no archbishops enjoying millions of income; no privileged nunneries, no provincial custom-houses; no badly administered and uncultivated national domains; they would have had a contented secular clergy, and nobles without feudal privileges and exemptions from taxes; that they would have been a regenerated people; that the change they would have experienced would have been more beneficial to them than the discovery of another Peru. "Instead of this," said he, "what

have they got? A set of grossly ignorant monks, superstitious and rich! nobles grasping everything! a people oppressed by the Inquisition, and brutalized by ignorance and feudal tyranny! But if the Bayonne constitution had triumphed, an enlightened people, having shaken off the yoke of prejudice, would have had less antipathy to the English; whereas now, the *Inquisition*, the monks, and superstition, fortify their antipathy every day; so that *the English, instead of triumphing for themselves, have only completed the triumph of those who are their eternal enemies in Spain.*"

'I said above, that Napoleon would have suppressed the Inquisition in Spain. I saw the chapter upon the subject of this diabolical tribunal, in the campaigns of Italy, which treats of the negotiations which took place at Valentins, in 1797, when Napoleon wanted to obtain from Pope Pius VI. the suppression of the Inquisition throughout Europe. In this chapter are three most curious letters from the Pontiff to Napoleon, in which he styles him "*his very dear son;*" and with *great earnestness* endeavours to persuade him "to abandon this fatal resolve; which would dishonour him, and render him a prey to remorse in his later years: that he himself would sooner part with a *province than permit any change in regard to the Inquisition;* that it had never really been that tyrannical and cruel institution which the enemies of the Holy See pretended it was, &c. &c." After having urged his demand for a long time, Napoleon yielded at last to the earnest entreaties of the *venerable* old man; and, as the treaty imposed upon him was already sufficiently rigorous, gave up that point for the time.

'In the course of a conversation I had the honour to hold with Napoleon, I thought I discovered his religious opinions to be extremely tolerant; he thinks that *faith* is beyond the reach of law; that it is the most sacred property of man, and one for which he has no right to account to any "*mortal*," if there is nothing in it contrary to social order.

'I took an opportunity in speaking to some of his officers concerning the famous Sanhedrim or Jewish council held in France, which had some years back excited the attention of all Europe; they had, however, no ideas about the matter; they said merely that, if any person knew what was likely to have taken place then, it was Count Molé; but that they had their doubts whether even he knew any more than what Napoleon wanted to obtain in the first assembly of the Sanhedrim; for that his constant method had been to first excite the public attention upon some object, but that his intentions were not known until the last moment, and sometimes not until several years after the first discussion of it.

'I have the honour, &c. &c.'

In letter V. the following reasonings, it is obvious, might be held anywhere as well as in St. Helena. They are more violent than convincing:—

'European news of December, January, and February arrived. The fate of Murat was made known to Napoleon, who merely said—"The Calabrians are more humane than the English Ministry. When it is wished to get rid of a man, a bullet is the most humane and noble means of doing so." This saying got speedily abroad, and produced

considerable emotion. He was greatly surprised at the trial of Ney and said he could not conceive how the Allies could violate so bare facedly the capitulation of Paris ; he held the breach of that treaty as upon a footing with those of Dantzic and Dresden ; he observed, that the Parisian lawyers had in general displayed but little talent, and less courage in behalf of their clients ; that Cambrone was the person who had manifested most honour in his defence. He also observed, that it was difficult to conceive how the Duke of Otranto, who was Minister of Police under him, could have signed the act of proscription. How the names of Bertrand, Cambrone, and Drouet, who had never served under the Bourbons, who had left France, who had never borne their commission, and who had never ceased to be under his command, could have been included in it, "These men," said he, "whose character and fidelity merited the highest approbation, were condemned by Generals who had taken the oath to the King, who had received the Cross of St. Louis from his hands, who had worn his cockade, sworn obedience to him, and a few days afterwards had again mounted the tri-colour cockade, trampled under foot the white, thrown away the Cross of St. Louis with disdain, and made war upon Louis XVIII." He also observed of the sentences, "that laws had been applied to the prisoners that had been decreed by the *republic and the fourth dynasty against the Bourbons*, and for the maintenance of *that republic* and the *imperial dynasty*. Is it possible," said he, "to conceive such a state of affairs? It is by virtue of a law made against the Bourbons by an usurped government, during the time that the *legitimate* government resided at Mittau and London, that the same LEGITIMATE government now causes people to be executed. How can you reconcile the *nineteenth* year of the reign of Louis XVIII. with the putting in force laws made by a rebellious republic and an usurping government? The men," continued he, "who at Waterloo defended the nation against combined Europe, are condemned, and the faithful subjects are they who fought against their country, like General *Bourmont*, who unfurled the tri-colour flag with Ney, on the 17th of March, and afterwards came to Paris to take the oath of fidelity to me, was employed in his rank of general of division, for three months was chief of the staff at Metz, under the orders of Gerard, and on the 14th, and two days before the battle of Waterloo, deserted with two officers of his staff, and went over to the enemy—this Bourmont, who bore witness against Ney, *he* is the good Frenchman ; *he* is the man who has fought for his country ! Never yet, continued he, "was human reason treated with such gross contempt. Louis XVIII. is the *ally* of the coalesced powers, and signs a treaty with them against France. Nevertheless, a treaty of *peace* is concluded by them with *him*. It is the first time that ever a treaty of peace has been concluded with an ally ! By this *very treaty of peace* his *good Allies* have imposed upon his subjects a contribution of seven hundred millions ! All the proclamations and all the promises made by the Allies, of not intending to impose any Government upon France, and of waging war solely against *me*, were disregarded as soon as they entered Paris, and had succeeded in disbanding the army of France."

'One of the sentences was afterwards pointed out to me as having been put in execution, in virtue of a law passed during Robespierre's rule, a very few days after the decree of the Convention which caused

Louis XVI. to die on a scaffold! I must confess I was confounded at seeing all principle defied in this manner, and could not refute the conclusions which were made, viz.—"That men so condemned and assassinated; that so many contradictions and absurdities had never before been jumbled together; that a king calling himself *legitimate*, by thus putting in force laws, made by a government *he* designated as *usurped*, protested *himself* against his *own* legitimacy, and proclaimed to the world the legitimacy of that government he contended was an usurpation!"

'I have the honour, &c. &c.'

If Buonaparte really held all this doctrine, it is a proof that his memory is bad, or his reading confined. Did not Charles II. of England, after his return and while he executed the laws of the republic, date his reign from the death of his father? And as to a treaty of peace between the Allies and Louis XVIII., the treaty was between the Allies and France, towards which country, as the accession of Louis rendered the terms more favourable, so was he the only person that could sign on its behalf.

[*To be continued.*]

'Times,' October 23, 1817.

WORK RESPECTING BUONAPARTE, IN REPLY TO MR. WARDEN.

We continue our extracts from, and observations on, the work relating to Buonaparte. We had, indeed, intended to insert the whole of Letter VI., which gives an account of Pichegru and Georges' conspiracy; but with considerable knowledge of the occurrences there is evidently mixed up so much falsehood, that we decline. We copy, however, the following account of the meeting of Moreau, Pichegru, and Georges in Paris, which is at one amusing and untrue:—

'It was proved by these trials, which took place, one may say, in the face of all Europe, the ambassadors and foreign agents constantly attending the tribunal, that Pichegru, having become reconciled to Moreau, came to Paris; that Moreau had several interviews with him, and three with Georges and him. The first interview which took place between Moreau, Pichegru, and Georges, was in the Boulevard de la Madelaine, at night. "Here I am," cried Pichegru, "there is not a moment's time to be lost in overthrowing the First Consul." Moreau answered, "Against the First Consul, living, I can undertake nothing; but I can undertake anything against the First Consul, dead. Kill the First Consul; and the senate, the people, and the army will unanimously nominate me in his place. I will change the commanders of the troops encamped at Boulogne, and I will name a commission to

try you, Pichegru; acquitted, you will be appointed second consul." "Very well," cried Georges, "but in that case I must be third consul." "That is impossible," said Moreau. "If it were known that I had even seen you, I should be a lost man, I should scarcely have my valet de chambre on my side." "This is all a farce," said Georges. "You mean to betray us. You, Moreau and Pichegru! You are both two blues. When you get into power you will have us shot. I declare frankly to you that, blue for blue, Buonaparte is much better than anybody else."

'At the termination of the conference, Moreau promised to see his friends and to try what he could do: several of them he sounded; but it is not supposed he imparted to them the whole of what was in agitation, and thereby became more than ever convinced that it was absolutely necessary for Georges and the Chouans to commence the business, by despatching, in the first instance, the First Consul, for which purpose several schemes were adopted. Six fellows were charged to poniard him on the parade, at the moment he went out of the gate of the Carousel, and entered the crowd to receive petitions; but the parade never took place upon days previously fixed, and sometimes there was not one for three months. Thirty others were equipped in the uniform of the Chasseurs of the guard, and were to have attacked his carriage between Nanterre and the Pont de Neuilly, when he went to Malmaison, to which place he generally went by night; to have charged his picquet, which did not consist of more than 15 men, one-half of whom would probably be killed by a discharge of pistols before they could defend themselves, and afterwards to massacre him in the carriage with their poniards. It is a fact that the greater number of these Chouans were not animated by any personal hatred or malice against Napoleon, and that, having plenty of money, they were wallowing in the intemperance and debaucheries of Paris; that most of them had several mistresses, and put off from day to day the difficult and dangerous part of their operations.

'Pichegru had committed the greatest crime that man is capable of—that of causing his army to execute false manœuvres, on purpose that they might fall into ambuscades and snares of the enemy; and thus to cause *his own* soldiers, in executing his orders, to fall victims of his baseness and treachery.'

How the author can state as he does that Buonaparte was free from revolutionary crimes, though he describes him, in the subjoined extract, as heading the massacre at Paris on the 13th Vendemiaire, we know not.

'Arrived at Paris, he was employed by the Committee of Public Safety to direct the movements of the armies. On the 13th of Vendemiaire the Convention gave him the command of the troops, when, by the excellence of the dispositions he adopted, he caused the Convention to triumph over its enemies, although he had only 5 or 600 men to defend that body against all the population of Paris. As to this interesting event, I have been informed that the conventionalist army fired ball and grape shot only, until they were sure of victory, which was the work of a quarter of an hour; and that, immediately afterwards, they fired, and continued to do so all the evening and night, blank cartridge only: and that to this was to be attributed the trifling loss sustained by the Parisians, which Napoleon states, in his

history, not to have amounted to more than between 3 and 400 men killed and wounded.'

The story that follows, about firing blank cartridges, is too absurd to deserve notice.

Critics, observing the powers of amplification in poets, state that, where Homer speaks of only 10 tongues and 10 mouths, Virgil increases them to 100. By an inverse power of diminution in history—that is, in such history as this we are reviewing—we find that Buonaparte's poisoning the whole of his wounded, as fully stated and proved by Sir Robert Wilson and others, but chiefly by him, has now been reduced by natural causes, to the death of seven :—

'It would render this letter too long, and, besides, I had not time to take notes with the exactness I had determined to observe in all I related, concerning the march of the French from Jaffa to St. Jean d'Acre, or of the details of the siege of that city, or of the battles which took place at Mount Tabor against the armies of Damascus and Aleppo. Suffice it to say that, on the 20th of May, the French raised the siege, and following the track along the sea-side encamped on the ruins of Cesarea. On the 24th they arrived at Jaffa, having with them about 1000 men, who had been wounded at the siege of Acre, and who occupied all the means of transport in their possession. These men with the sick in the hospitals of Jaffa were sent by sea, with orders to make the best of their way to Damietta. At this time the plague raged in the French hospitals, and every day five or six died victims to it. Those who were strongest among the sick were sent out first; and as soon as a boat was laden it proceeded on, and the last boat contained those of whose recovery there was very little hope. Napoleon gave orders for the army to depart on the 27th of May; and on the 26th, according to his usual custom, sent one of his aides-de-camps (Lavalette) to visit the hospitals and stores, in order to be perfectly satisfied that his orders had been strictly carried into execution. The aide-de-camp reported to him that the whole had been evacuated with the exception of *seven* men, of whose recovery the medical officers despaired, and who could not be moved, inasmuch as they would infect with the plague whoever approached them; that some of those unfortunate wretches, on perceiving that they were abandoned to their fate in this manner, had loudly demanded death, with lamentable cries; representing, that the Turks, upon their arrival, would practise unheard-of cruelties upon them; (in fact, it was customary for those barbarous monsters to cut off "les partes," the nose, and scoop out the eyes of those who were unfortunate enough to fall into their hands.) The surgeons on duty at the hospital had demanded authority from the aide-de-camp to gratify their desires by giving them (at the last moment) opium, stating, that it was inhuman and horrible to abandon those men in such a manner; and that the maxim "Do as you would that others should do unto you," ought to be put in practice. Notwithstanding this, Napoleon ordered the chief physician Desgenettes, and the chief surgeon Laweg, to be called, in order to ascertain if there was not still some possibility of sending away the above-mentioned unfortunate men, and recommended that they should be put on horseback and the horses be led, offering for that purpose his own saddle-horses; but the physician declared this to be impossible, and added, that the men had not twenty-four hours longer to live. They, moreover, stated

that in the course of their consultation touching the possibility of sending them away, they had deliberated upon the propriety of giving them opium; but that Desgenettes had been of opinion that, as his profession was to cure, he could not possibly authorise such a measure. Upon this, Napoleon delayed the departure of the army for twenty-four hours. Nothing was urgent: he was master of all the country, and Djezzar Pacha had not stirred out of Acre. A rearguard of 300 cavalry did not leave the town until four o'clock in the afternoon of the next day, forty-eight hours after the visit of the aide-de-camp to the hospital, and not until the seven sick men were reported to be all dead. This circumstance, which has been so much misrepresented, is in reality a proof of his humanity and care towards his troops; who, in return, are stated to have invariably considered him as their father; and, probably, no other general ever possessed in so eminent a degree the affections of his soldiers.'

The following extract gives our readers an account of one who has made some talk in the world:—

'The information I have been able to collect with respect to the Abbé Pradt is as follows:—The Abbé Pradt emigrated, and afterwards availed himself of the amnesty and returned to France. Being without any means whatever of procuring subsistence, he addressed himself to the police, and was amply recompensed for the services which he rendered to them. It was some time, however, before he was able to succeed in getting admittance to the Ruler of France; but having insinuated himself into the good graces of Duroc, the Grand Marshal, whose relation he pretended to be, through the protection of this favourite, he was appointed Almoner of the Chapel, and took the customary oaths required of all the Household; he was also made Bishop of Poitiers, and afterwards Archbishop of Mechlin. During the Council of Paris Napoleon frequently detained him at his levees in order to converse with him upon affairs concerning the priests. Ambitious and intriguing, he availed himself of this in order to increase his intimacy, and under colour of exalted zeal, he informed his master of numberless circumstances which passed in the societies of the capital, where his acquaintance was very extensive. The Bishops of Nantes and Trèves, the Archbishop of Tours, and the Primate of Venice were appointed by the Council of the Bishops of France and Italy to proceed and meet the Pope at Savona; and the Duke of Rovigo asked permission to add the Archbishop of Mechlin to them. This met with great opposition, and produced remonstrances from the bishops. It was, in fact, associating one of the most disreputable bishops of Christendom with four of the most respectable prelates in it; but, however, as it was a matter of great importance to be informed of everything which was said and done there, he was appointed. His conduct towards the Pope at Savona was, however, marked with so much levity, that his colleagues were frequently obliged to remind him of the decency and respect due to a sovereign, and especially to one who was also the chief of his religion. He was afterwards employed to observe the affairs of Spain. In 1812 he went to Dresden with the post of Almoner. The Duke of Bassano, being desirous of having the Baron de Bignon (who was then at Warsaw) with him at Wilna, proposed, two days before his departure from Dresden, that the Abbé de Pradt should replace him. His easy manner appeared well calcu-

lated to render him a proper person for a place where the ladies have so much influence. He was known to possess some talent, address, a great desire to please, and must have been conscious that success was necessary to ensure his preferment. Nevertheless, Napoleon hesitated to intrust a pardoned emigrant, a man who until then had been only employed by the Government in clandestine and subordinate affairs, with a brilliant and most confidential situation; but, finally, the recommendation of Duroc prevailed, who said that the Archbishop's mitre would make up for everything, particularly in a country where the prelates were in the habit of filling the principal employments, and that his conduct at Mechlin could not leave a doubt as to the nature of his sentiments, and his attachment to the Government. Our *almoner's* conduct, however, when arrived at Warsaw, was a complete series of follies; he took a wrong turn at every step, and his conduct and writings rendered him the contempt of the Poles of all parties. As Napoleon returned from his disastrous campaign on Moscow, he stayed three hours at Warsaw, where he heard nothing but complaints about him. He was even accused of treachery by thirty different persons; and by the most moderate of incapacity, it was evident that he had not the talent necessary for the business he was intrusted with. When he was introduced into the presence of his master, he went on in his usual inconsiderate way, and gave loose to his customary *mania* of talking about war. Napoleon, extremely fatigued, at first returned him no answer, but listened with coolness to his nonsense; at last, losing patience, he took up a card which was lying upon the chimney-piece, and wrote upon it with a pencil the following words—"Write to the Duc of Bassano, that on his way through Warsaw he is to send this coxcomb back to Paris." (Faites une lettre au Duc de Bassano pour qu'à son passage par Varsovie, il renvoye ce freluquet à Paris.) This card he gave to Caulaincourt, who was present, and immediately, in presence of the Abbé, sat down to write the letter.

'After Napoleon's return in March, 1815, all his detractors, imagining him to be burning with revenge, fled from Paris; they were, however, mistaken. He was under too many obligations to them to be inclined to do them any harm, and they regained their situations. Lavatelle resumed the duties of his station at the Lyceum. Pichon was employed on a secret mission to London, &c. The Abbé de Pradt took a step quite conformable to the effrontery of the man; he sent Napoleon a memorial filled with invectives against the Bourbons and the Ministers who had turned him out of the grand chancellorship of the legion of honour. This memorial he accompanied with a letter, in which he explained his conduct by saying, "that outwardly he had had the appearance of being changed; but that, in his heart, he had been always faithful to his benefactor, and to the prince who was the choice of the nation!" and concluded with begging to be again appointed to his situation in the chapel. "Oh, c'est trop," said Napoleon; "quel misérable!"'

[*To be continued.*]

'Times,' October 24, 1817.

WORK RESPECTING BUONAPARTE, IN REPLY TO MR. WARDEN.

We shall conclude our extracts with the greater part of the last letter in the book:—

'This letter will conclude the series. You wish to be made acquainted with whatever occurrences may have taken place since July, 1816. The task is a very painful one. I have already explained to you, in my fifth letter, in what manner matters were arranged, and, although everything was not quite so well as could have been wished, Plantation-house not being allotted them, nor the liberty of the whole of the little rock, yet still they were treated with attention and regard, and received whoever they thought proper. Napoleon had it in his power to amuse himself occasionally with the society of the inhabitants, of the officers of the army and navy, and also with that of a great number of strangers who arrived; a great resource, especially to Madame Bertrand. Since that period, everything has been changed; they scarcely receive any person, and no longer go out. It is impossible for me to go into minute details, they would be excessively afflicting to an Englishman, and which, if known, would excite a general feeling of indignation. In order, however, not to leave you entirely in the dark, I will relate to you such general details as my memory furnishes me.

'Three commissioners, Austrian, French, and Russian, arrived at St. Helena on the 17th of June, 1816, in the *Newcastle* and *Orontes* frigates, along with Admiral Malcolm. Some weeks after this the Governor, Sir Hudson Lowe, announced their arrival at Longwood, and communicated the treaty of the 2nd of August, 1815, concluded between Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia. It appears that Count Montholon was ordered to protest against the treaty, which he accordingly did in a letter, comprising a declaration, that Napoleon was not the prisoner of England; that after his abdication he came freely and voluntarily to England, with a view of living there as a private individual under the protection of the British laws; that the violation of those laws could not constitute a right; that, although his person was actually in the power of the English nation, yet he never had been, nor was he then, in the power of either Austria, Russia, or Prussia, which States, consequently, had neither in fact, or in right, any control over him; that it exhibited only the coalition of the four greatest powers of Europe, for the oppression of one man. It also stated the different treatment which, in all probability, Napoleon would have experienced, had he been either in the power of Austria, Russia, or even Prussia; and the erroneous ideas he had formed of the influence of the opinion of a great, generous, and free people over their government, which had induced him to prefer the protection of their laws to that of a father-in-law or an old friend; that he always had had it in his power to secure every point which regarded himself, either by putting himself at the head of the army of the Loire or that

of the Gironde; but that, wishing for nothing but retirement, he had conceived all stipulations unnecessary, and that they would be more bound by this conduct on his part, so noble, frank, and full of confidence, than by the most solemn treaty. It also alluded to the uselessness of the mission of the above-named commissioners, who, it appeared, had no right to interfere in what was going on in the island; and complained of the hardship he experienced in being sent to a rock 2000 leagues from Europe, in a climate most inimical to his health, and which was rendered still worse by the restrictions imposed by the new Governor in prohibiting all communication with the inhabitants or even the officers, and making Longwood a close prison. It also complained of the unnecessary hardship they experienced in being deprived of any other newspaper than a few straggling copies of *The Times;* of books sent by their authors not having been allowed to reach Longwood; of letters unsealed having been given to the Governor for the purpose of being sent to persons at Longwood, but which had not been communicated by him, because they did not come through the channel of the English ministry; of the impossibility of communication by letter in consequence of the forms they were obliged to go through, and of the general tenour of the restrictions, which, it was alleged, could have no other object in view than that of shortening Napoleon's life; of the badness of the situation at Longwood, devoid of water and shade, until Admiral Malcolm caused a tent to be erected by his sailors; and suggesting the propriety of having placed him, in the first instance, at Plantation-house. It concluded with an answer to a demand made by the Governor of 10 or 12,000*l.* yearly from Napoleon, in addition to the 8000*l.* allowed yearly by the British Government; and stated that Napoleon was willing to pay the whole of the expenses himself, provided he was allowed communication with bankers, without being subject to any inquisition on the part of the Governor or any of his myrmidons.

'It appears that Lord Bathurst, in one of his letters, settled the expenses of Longwood at 8000*l.* yearly, out of which 500*l.* a year was to be paid the purveyor for salary; 500*l.* more for the carriage of provisions from the town to Longwood; 730*l.* for the orderly officers and surgeons at Longwood, and 1,000*l.* for the expense of repairing the house, which is old and in need of continual repairs; making in all 2730*l.*, and leaving 5270*l.* for the other expenses of the establishment, which, considering the enormous price of every article of life in St. Helena, might be equal to about 1000*l.* a year in England. The Governor, however, conceived with good reason that this sum was altogether insufficient, and, deeming 19 or 20,000*l.* a-year necessary, he required of General Montholon, by a letter dated the 17th of August, the difference between that sum and 8000*l.* a year allowed by the Government; to which a reply was made in the above-mentioned letter; and, notwithstanding the addition of 4000*l.* a year made by the Governor, all the provisions were reduced in quantity; three French domestics, who were extremely useful, were discharged; and Napoleon, wanting wherewith to purchase articles of provisions, of which so scanty an allowance was made that the maître-d'hôtel declared that there was not enough by one-third, ordered his plate to be broken up and sold to the value of 1000*l.*; and I have been informed that 8 or 900*l.* more of it in value is destined for the same purpose. I have

myself seen this plate, which was extremely handsome, and the workmanship of it was worth more than four times the intrinsic value. Everybody wished to get a morsel of it, and several of the captains of the Indiamen offered ten times the value, in order to have an entire piece.

'The commissioners were not introduced at Longwood, although it is said that Napoleon, in refusing to receive them as commissioners, had nevertheless consented to receive them as strangers, and in a way similar to those with which he received others. Upon this subject it is supposed Sir Hudson Lowe and the commissioners have written to their respective Governments, and still wait their instructions.

'Shortly after this, Napoleon addressed a letter to Count Las Casas, a little before the latter went to the Cape of Good Hope. It appeared that Las Casas had intrusted to a native of the island, who intended to go to England, a letter for a lady in London, containing complaints against the Governor. I have been informed, however, by persons who have seen the letter in the Governor's possession, that there was nothing in it which might not have been publicly written.

'I have not been able to obtain the whole of Napoleon's letter, but I furnish you with as much of it as my memory affords. In it he expresses his regret "at the treatment Las Casas had experienced in being dragged away from Longwood, and put in close confinement for so many days, deprived of all communication; that his conduct at St. Helena had been, like the rest of his life, honourable and creditable to him; that he was authorized, by the conduct of the Governor, who had reproached him for expressions, which he had confided to the bosom of friendship, to take the steps which he did, in order to forward his letter to his friend, which, besides, contained nothing more than what had already been expressed in six or seven letters; no plot, no mystery; and was by no means sufficient to authorize the violent and blustering conduct which had taken place; that Longwood was enveloped in a veil of mystery and secrecy, which it was desired to render impenetrable, in order to conceal the conduct of a man, making the most contemptible regulations, and executing them with violence; that in the most uncivilized countries exiles, prisoners, and even criminals, were under the protection of laws and magistrates; but that, in St. Helena, one man had the power to ordain and to execute without appeal; and concluded by desiring him, however necessary his society might be to himself, to return to his native country, and forget the woes which he had been made to suffer; and to embrace his (Napoleon's) wife and child for him, should he meet with them; adding that his body was in the power of his enemies, who would omit no opportunity of wreaking their vengeance upon him, but that a just Providence would interpose, and put a speedy end to that existence of which the last moments would reflect disgrace upon the author of his persecution."

'Some time before this, Sir Hudson Lowe thought proper to establish a new code of regulations (worthy of Notary Ray), by which he lessened the extent of the limits, formerly allowed, by about two-thirds, under the idle pretence that Napoleon had never made use of them since his arrival; and, of the portion which he still allowed to remain, the *high road alone* was to be used by the French people; they were prohibited from leaving it, to go either to the right or left;

and (will Englishmen credit it?) Napoleon and his suite were actually prohibited to speak to any such persons as he or they might meet, unless so far as the customary salutations of politeness in use amongst civilized beings.

'Persons who might obtain a pass to visit Napoleon, were also prohibited from making use of such pass, to communicate with any others of his court unless such permission were specifically expressed in the pass; so that Napoleon, if he received a stranger, who could not speak French, was not, according to this silly and affronting regulation, authorised to call upon Las Casas or any other of his attendants to interpret. Sentinels were placed round the garden at sunset, in such a manner as to preclude Napoleon's taking exercise in it, at the only time that such can be done with pleasure in a tropical climate, (particularly at Longwood, which is totally void of shade) without being exposed to the prying gaze and idle curiosity of his keepers; during the day another sentinel was posted in a situation from whence he could observe whatever was going on in the garden, in such a manner, that even in the day he could not stir out without being subject to the inspection of private soldiers; and in a letter to Bertrand every communication, even verbal, with the inhabitants was prohibited.

'It appears, that after these restrictions had been put in execution, Napoleon declared, "That, conceiving all laws and every consideration of respect towards him were violated, he had refused to receive the Governor again, regarding him in no other light than that of a turnkey."

'Every feeling mind agreed also, that it never could have been the intention of either the Parliament or the nation to impose useless restrictions; that to insult an illustrious enemy at our mercy was to insult the nation itself; and that the restrictions ought to have but one object in view—namely, that of preventing his escape from St. Helena. Now, if this be true, five-sixths of the restrictions which have been imposed are purely vexatious, without use, and contrary to the will of the nation. It is difficult to conceive also, why the ministers refused to allow the governor the sum which he thought necessary and had required, viz. 20,000*l.* yearly; it certainly ought to have been furnished, and the prisoner's plate ought not to have been accepted. This last was bought up by order of the governor, who, in that, had, without doubt, a political reason, probably to prevent its being purchased piecemeal, to be preserved as precious relics, which every one knew would have been the case. His predecessor had regulated the expenses in a manner that they had, I believe, amounted to about 17,000*l.* a-year.

'Finally, the detention of Napoleon at St. Helena costs about 250,000*l.* a year to the treasury, to maintain a lieutenant-general as governor, a brigadier-general, a numerous staff, battalions of artillery, and of the line, a powerful squadron, &c., and, besides these expenses, the restrictions which are imposed upon ships cramp the trade of India, and occasion losses much more considerable than the expenses themselves; and for what purpose? that Napoleon may enjoy a greater degree of liberty in his confinement? He would be much better off if confined in a house in England or Scotland than in St. Helena, with the liberty of the whole island; because, in the first place, the climate

of the tropics cannot be compared in any place with that of Europe; and that of St. Helena is destructive to health, witness the great number of deaths in the sixth regiment in a very short space of time. In the next place, food even barely fit for use is with difficulty procured at St. Helena. Spend as many thousands as you will, it is still impossible to accomplish what you wish; the provisions necessary to life are often bad and damaged. In fact, that which a respectable citizen of London would consider indispensable to his table is not to be had in St. Helena. In a prison in England newspapers can be had, and a library, and the prisoners are allowed to hear of their relations frequently. At St. Helena they are deprived of almost everything. It is true that about 1500 have been sent out to them; but 1500 volumes are very insufficient for people reduced to make letters and the sciences their comfort; even 20,000 volumes would not compensate the advantage of having in Europe in forty-eight hours whatever books might be wanted. Finally, in England they would know of their relations and friends, which at St. Helena is nearly impossible. Counts Bertrand and Montholon assured me that for several months they had not received a line, and could not attend to the affairs of their families and other private concerns.

'In consequence of the new restrictions, Napoleon for several months did not stir out of his apartments, that is to say, out of four small, badly constructed, unwholesome rooms, or out of a house, an equal to which, in badness, it would be difficult to find all over England; it is therefore to confine him within four walls under a tropical sun that our treasury expends more than 20,000*l.* sterling a-year, and that our commerce experiences so much detriment.

'During the first ten months I had every facility of going to Longwood, but in October it was very difficult to obtain leave. It was necessary first to undergo a long examination as to the nature of your business. In December, I obtained, after many difficulties, a new pass to go there. I saw Madame Bertrand, who complained bitterly of not being able to see anybody, and of even the society of the English officers being prohibited. I saw also General Gourgaud, with whom I conversed for a long time; he appeared very much surprised at the new system of treatment they experienced. I could not succeed in seeing Napoleon, who had not received any one or even stirred out of the house.

'One of his suite told me that their prospect was so much darkened, and their situation so much changed for the worse, since the departure of Admiral Cockburn, that Napoleon had observed, that being at St. Helena was not the worst of their miseries, and that the choice of the abode was no longer the worst torment which had been put in execution against him; adding, that there was nothing English in the manner in which he was treated, that it resembled more the police of Sicily.

'All feeling and reasonable people agree that the precautions lately put in practice are unjust, ridiculous, even oppressive to the military who execute them, and that by carefully guarding the outlets of the ravines leading towards the sea-side, following Napoleon by signals whenever he went into the interior of the island, and guarding the sea-coast in the manner now practised, by boats and brigs, every point in regard to safe custody would be attained with the greatest

possible simplicity and success, which is all that human prudence and wisdom can require under such circumstances.'

It is evident that the above contains a great many falsehoods, and some absurdities; for example, Buonaparte is made to complain that his fate and comforts are consigned to the will of one man, while he refuses to admit the other commissioners, who might mitigate his confinement, and by whose governments, he says, he should have been treated much better than by that of England! This is evident nonsense.

The work concludes with a horribly blasphemous allusion to the sufferings of our Saviour, which we of course omit.

'Morning Chronicle,' December 19, 1817.

When the *Alceste* touched at St. Helena, Captain Hall saw Napoleon; a conversation arose about the Chinese missions, and, by a natural transition, *Loo Choo* was mentioned. 'You can scarcely conceive the degree of ignorance which prevails there,' said Captain H. 'They actually never heard of your exploits; not even your name.' Bonaparte laughed heartily at this sally.

'Times,' Jan. 13, 1818.

(*From a Flemish Paper.*)

M. de Las Casas, separated from a master who has never ceased to be his friend, has brought to Europe an ample stock of anecdotes about that extraordinary man, who has united in his illustrious career all the chances of good and bad fortune. Buonaparte always fixes the general attention—he is an illuminous meteor which it is impossible to conceal. The portrait of this great man has never till now been drawn but by a flattering or an exaggerating pencil; and it is likely that, during his lifetime, the resemblance will never be seized. In waiting this work, reserved for posterity, we present anecdotes that yield us some features of the moral physiognomy of the man whom sovereigns have now thrown into chains as a punishment for having enchained nations. We derive them from an article which appears to have been communicated by Las Casas to the *Journal of Antwerp.*

Napoleon, at the commencement of his residence on the island, voluntarily received the English officers, and admitted them at Long-

wood into social circles formed by the companions of his captivity, and two or three of the principal families of St. Helena. We are bound to say, to the credit of the English officers, that they never approached Napoleon but with that respect which his great misfortunes commanded. One would have believed that he saw the Emperor at the Tuileries, surrounded with his courtiers. He made the English journals to be translated to him, and, as he was allowed only the Ministerial journals, he soon remarked those articles of corrosive gall and insipid irony, in which he was represented as successively surrendering himself to childish spleen, or disgusting caprices. He was so unjust as to believe that those even whom he admitted to his society, and from whom he received the most abject adulation, were caterers for *The Times* and *The Courier*. He then formed the resolution to see nobody, and did not even make an exception in favour of the Governor. Sir Hudson Lowe took a singular mode of overcoming this determination; he transmitted one day a request for an interview, under the pretext of having to communicate things of an agreeable and interesting nature. He was admitted: but what was the astonishment of Napoleon when he perceived that the only object of his conversation was to inform him that the expenditure of the captives exceeded by 1200 louis the funds placed at his disposal by the Government, and to beg him to find the means of covering the deficit. He sharply replied, 'M. le Gouverneur, I never intermeddle in such details. Never did any complaint of mine *descend so low* as you. I command, or I am silent. If after this you allow me to want for necessaries, I will go to seek them in your own camp' (pointing with his finger to the English tents which are seen from Longwood), 'and these brave soldiers will not drive from their mess one of the oldest and the first soldier of Europe.'

In the private conversations which he often held with Bertrand and Las Casas he sometimes indulged in effusions of feelings which gave the lie to what has been said about the aridity of his heart. In speaking of the double catastrophe which deprived him of his crown, he sometimes said, 'Have I done all that was my duty for that good people, the French? Ought I not likewise to have died for them? They did so many services for me; but they likewise abandoned me. I deceive myself; they abandoned me twice, in the most cruel manner. The first defection may be excused, but for the second should they not have understood better?'

They asked him why, among the numerous expedients which presented themselves to him, he had adopted that of surrendering himself to his most cruel enemies. Without replying directly to the question, he said that he had had at one time the idea of proposing his abdication on condition of retiring into Corsica, and retaining the sovereignty of that island; but, added he, 'my enemies would not have failed to have said, that after launching France and Frenchmen on a stormy sea, I abandoned them after the tempests, to shelter myself in port.'

He never speaks but in terms of eulogy of the city of Lyons, and on such occasions he discovers projects which were never suspected to be entertained by him. For example, he said, 'It is useless to express how much I love that good city; but one thing I am certain of, that I have always been, and shall always be, beloved by it; I had formed great projects for its prosperity. It is so situated as to become the capital of Gaul and Italy.'

He cannot believe that the two Emperors of Austria and of Russia entertain towards him personal animosity. 'They only' (said he) 'persecute in me the sword of that revolution which made them tremble on their thrones.' He said of Ney and Murat, 'They were, perhaps, the two bravest men that ever existed; but, if they had had but two ounces of good sense more, they would, perhaps, have been the greatest of poltroons.' The English journals, containing the details of the death of Murat, were read to him. When he heard the word *shot*, he abruptly interrupted the reader, and said, 'The Calabrians were more generous and less inhuman than the people of Plymouth—proceed;' and he listened to the details of the death of his brother-in-law without shedding a tear. The tone of these discourses, though in general severe, is not always remote from pleasantry. With General Bertrand and Count Las Casas in particular, he abandoned himself to all the communicativeness of confiding familiarity. One day he asked the former what party he was of at the commencement of the revolution? 'Of the constitutional, Sire,' replied he, 'since I narrowly escaped death at the Tuileries in defending the throne, and the inviolability of the monarch.' 'And you, Las Casas,' said Napoleon, pinching familiarly the ear of his chamberlain, 'I shall not ask what party you belonged to; you emigrated; you were essentially an aristocrat. Don't you allow it, now, to be very strange, that of us three I am the only republican?' 'Very singular indeed,' replied Bertrand; 'but, Sire, they made you pay dear for it.' It is very true that he repeats frequently, *liberal ideas have ruined me;* but he adds, that mistakes *prevailed* over his ultimate views. 'I wished,' says he, 'to restrain liberal ideas first, in order to make them burn with all their lustre afterwards.'

'Times,' March 7, 1818.

We were the first to notice the very singular occurrence of a pamphlet in its way to light, which may be essentially considered as from the pen of Buonaparte: the work is now published, and, though calculated to attract observation by its external circumstances, will not long gratify the public taste, either by the elegance of its style, the clearness of its argument, or the importance of its contents. Buonaparte might have chosen a subject, among the many occurrences of his past life, to which, however treated, general interest would have long been attached. He has thought proper to speak only of himself since his confinement; and his manner, which is abrupt, obscure, and confused, will not enliven a topic, which is as barren as he represents the spot where he unwillingly resides, or reconcile contradictions, which are as glaring and offensive as he describes the sun upon the whole island. He mourns his confinement in a series of notes, instead of elegies; but the Corsican raven croaks harsh discord at St. Helena, when compared with the Aonian swan on the banks of

the Euxine. The work, however, may be esteemed Buonaparte's *Tristia*, and is a kind of reply to the speech of Earl Bathurst, in the House of Peers, on the 18th of March, last year. He first murmurs at the Bill by which he was sentenced to confinement; and, as we think, upon no very just grounds. He modestly styles himself a Prince, our illustrious guest; but forgets that we never acknowledged his Princedom; and that, even if we had, he threw himself into our hands unconditionally, while he was at war with us, and was there left, a mischievous deposit, when peace was made by others, without one stipulation in his favour. What then could we do with him, but take care of him and secure him; and as he had done us mischief enough already, prevent him from doing us more? and we do not know how this was to be done, but by his death or by his confinement.

He speaks of the armies which he has commanded—the alliances which he has formed—the sovereigns who crowded to his capital: undoubtedly he obtained, he possessed, and he has subsequently thrown away great advantages; but as he never used them except for our destruction, or in our detriment, what claim can he derive from thence to our friendship or love? He indeed has no great reason to complain, if, when driven into our hands by war, and in his own despite, and without any other means of escape, we carefully secure and retain him. Let him recollect how, at a moment of full peace, and during a hollow conference, he entrapped the unsuspecting Ferdinand into his snares, and carried him off to prison. Let the enemies of that Sovereign represent him in any light they please, the nature of the act is unaltered; if he were what they would describe him, he was the less to be feared, and the villainy was the more unprovoked. But none can charge Buonaparte with any other incapacity than inaptitude for goodness and honour. How would he have us confine him? As he confined Captain Wright? We did not tear him by night from a neutral territory, as he tore the Duc d'Enghien. He fled from a hostile land to hostile ships, and by them was conveyed to what he did not deserve—a place of security, where, if his unruly temper would suffer him, he might rest tranquil, and by good conduct obtain kind treatment.

We must add a word more respecting his claims to the title of Emperor, the want of which seems so much to fret him, and then we shall begin our quotations. This man really seems to think himself privileged to commit or attempt all wrong, and, when he fails, to be exempt from every penalty or evil. By the treaty of 1814, he stipulated for the title of Emperor. The Allies, seeing he was pleased with the foolery, allowed him by an express article to retire with it to the island of Elba; but, when he came forth from thence, he of course put the title, with his other fortunes, to the hazard of battle. If it was necessary to make the title a condition of treaty, after one war which took away the power from him, what possible claim can he have to it, without treaty, after another war which has sunk him into nothing? Where then, we ask, is the stipulation for the continuance of the title after the battle of Waterloo? And whatever may have been his abilities, or the arts by which he raised himself to the head of the French empire, the title of Emperor certainly was not inherent in him or derived from his ancestry; but, as it came with the power, must go with the power.

In page 5, complaining of his confinement, he says:—

'If the security of the detention had been the only object in view, there was not want of castles or of houses in England, but it was the devouring climate of the tropic which was required!'

Now within two little pages he thus reasons:—

'For, after all, prisoners shut up in towers, fettered and manacled, have found means to escape. In whatever situation living men are placed, they have always certain chances, more or less numerous, of regaining their liberty. Do you seek for a place in which to enclose a man, without any chance of freeing himself—without even a single change in a thousand?—you will only find one—a coffin!'

We give these two extracts as a testimony of the consistency of his reasoning: in one of which he says, he might be safely confined in a house; and in the other, that it is impossible so to confine him.

We have before explained that the work consists of notes upon detached parts of Lord Bathurst's speech. It retorts upon his Lordship the expression so frequently used by him in the House of Peers, that such and such an allegation 'is not true.' It is also to be observed, that Buonaparte frequently complains that his health suffers by confinement; and he is confined because he does *not choose* to take exercise according to the terms prescribed, that is, with an accompanying officer; but whether, we ask, is he or are we to blame for this? His health is no object to us, but to himself it is. Suppose he were to swear that he would not taste food unless we gave him a polished steel knife to eat with, and we, through fear, only chose to allow him a silver one, and suppose, in consequence of these conflicting resolutions, he died of hunger while good food was at our expense daily set before him, would it be himself or we that starved him? Are we to be complying, only because he is obstinate? Still, however, as we have chosen to keep him, we would have no unnecessary restrictions imposed upon him, let him have all the liberty consistent with his safe custody; and if the Governor and he have begun to provoke each other by petty hostilities, let the more powerful party, from pity and magnanimity, cease first.

The following extract, with which we shall conclude, proves that he has been a costly tenant to us, and will be a fair specimen of the work:—

'That he was unwilling to remove from Mr. Balcomb's on account of the facility of communication with the town.'

Speech of Earl Bathurst (20):—

Observation 20. A perfidious insinuation! A stay was made of 53 days at the Briars; Longwood was inhabited a month too soon, the day of arriving there being the next after that when it had been painted with oil paint, within and without. For more than three months 80 or 100 workmen continued to incumber the vicinity of the house, and to occasion a great inconvenience.

'During his residence there he was circumscribed to a small garden, beyond which he never moved without a guard; he did not, however, at that time, make any complaint.' (21.)

21. There was no guard at the Briars. The annexed, marked D, is the complaint addressed on the 24th of October, 1815, at the time of the departure of the first ship for England.

'Orders were given to send out a frame for the purpose of constructing a house for General Bonaparte.' (22.)

22. Seven or eight store-ships arrived in May and June, 1816, in the road of James-town, loaded with materials worth about 60,000*l.* sterling, wood, tiles, etc., proper for building a house. At a later period the store-ship *Adolphus* brought 16 or 20,000*l.* worth of iron-gratings. The carriage of these materials from the sea, up to the mountain, the purchase of the land, and the expenses of building, have been estimated at 60,000*l.* sterling, allotted into six years of labour. Therefore, a sum of 180,000*l.* sterling had been destined by the English government for providing, in the course of six years, a dwelling for the detained persons. In consenting to so considerable an expense, consequently, the Minister was convinced that there was no suitable house upon this rock but that of Plantation House; in this case, why did he exclude that? The pretext that it cannot be guarded without much difficulty is ridiculous and untenable. Plantation House is more easily to be guarded than Longwood; the reason of this singular exclusion is, therefore, a mystery. But did there not exist an obligation of providing an abode at St. Helena? Was this obligation to be fulfilled by excluding the three only houses in the island that were proper for this purpose, and by sending an edifice in carmine and Indian ink, with building materials, and an assurance that there would be a house in six years? Upon the most frightful spot in the world, all necessary measures have been taken to render unavailable the local resources of this poor place. The establishment is as bad as possible. How can it be conceived that all this is without a purpose?

'Sir Hudson Lowe wrote to the General, whether he would like to have a new house erected, or addition made to the old one; he received no answer.' (23.)

(23.) The Commandant of this place wrote on the 7th of July, 1816, to Count Montholon: the latter replied on the next day, the 8th, by the annexed letter, marked E. An answer could not have been more prompt or more explicit. He says, 'If you have instructions to build, it would be preferable that this should be done in the cultivated part of the isle,' &c. 'The idea of adding wings to the building of Longwood would be attended with every kind of inconvenience,' &c.

'While he knew that in two or three years either the administration in this country would be overturned, or a change would take place in the Government of France, and in either case, he should be released.' (24.)

24. *This is not true.*—That answer might be expected from the mouth of an insane or intoxicated man. Is that the supposition that is wished to be propagated? Count Montholon's letter of the 8th July, 1816, has already been cited. After that letter, the matter was no longer brought into notice; previous to it, the question was concerning this wooden house; the Emperor said, 'That he could consider such a structure in no other light than as a mockery; that if there were a wish to furnish him with an abode, that might have been suitably done at the moment of his arrival; that, moreover, it was to be proved by calculation, that six years would be required for the carriage of the materials to the eminence, and for the construction of the house; that in six years it was very evident he should have no need of it; that they suffered him to want a convenient habitation (though there were such in the island) while he needed it, in order to give him one at a period when he should want only a grave; that all this bore upon an evil thought!'

These remarks of the Emperor were made a fortnight or a month before Count Montholon's letter, annexed. marked E, which will be evident on an attentive perusal of that letter. This is important, and it was not without design that the remarks were said to have been made after the letter.

'With all that could be considered as suitable for a person in his situation.' (25.)

25. The first instructions of the Ministry stated, that treasure would be found on board the *Bellerophon;* that Admiral Cockburn was to seize it; that it was to be placed in the Bank of England, and that the interest was to be employed in defraying all the expenses of maintenance at St. Helena. The Admiral found no treasure; on arriving at St. Helena, he was embarrassed on the score of expense; he expressed some concern at the defect of his instructions, yet he went beyond them; nothing was asked of him by the French; he arranged matters as he chose. He estimated the ordinary (annual) expense at 18,000*l.* sterling. The new Commandant valued it in May, 1816, at 19,000*l.* sterling. In the July following he received fresh orders; he communicated them on the 17th of August; he wrote the annexed letter, marked F, to Count Montholon, and thus expressed himself:—

'Having used all efforts to effect a reduction in them' (the expenses of the establishment at Longwood), 'I am now enabled to transmit to you, for General Buonaparte's information, two statements, furnishing sufficient data whereon to found a calculation of the probable annual expense,' &c. . . . . 'The instructions I have received from the British Government direct me to limit the expenditure of Gen. Buonaparte's establishment to 8000*l.* per annum. They give the liberty, at the same time, to admit of any further expense being incurred which he may require as to table and so forth, beyond what this sum would cover, provided he furnished the fund whereby the surplus charges may be defrayed. I am now, therefore, under the necessity of requesting you would make known to him the impossibility I am under of bringing the expenses of his household, on its present establishment in point of numbers, within the limits prescribed, unless I make such a reduction under several heads as might naturally abridge from conveniences which the persons round him now enjoy,' &c. . . . . 'I beg leave to request being informed, previous to any further considerable reduction which might prove inconvenient to him, or to the persons of his suite, if he is content such an attempt should be made, or if he is willing to place at my command sufficient funds to meet the extra charges which must otherwise be unavoidably incurred,' &c. By the statements which he annexed to the letter, that officer proved that 19,000*l.* sterling would be required to meet all expenses; that upon this sum, 5,500*l.* sterling were a fixed charge for the maintenance of the buildings, which are in very bad repair; for the wages of the purveyor for conveyance from the town to the mountain; for the table of the officers on guard, and for the stables; that there remains then 13,500*l.* sterling, which, divided among 39 individuals who composed the household at Longwood, would be 14*s.* a head per diem, which, in this country, where the prices are four times those of London, are equal to 3*s.* 6*d.* for the supply of all wants, lighting, firing, table, and other household purposes. To this demand of Sir Sir Hudson Lowe, an answer was given in the postscript of the letter

of the 23d August; and in the latter part of the letter of the 9th of September, already quoted, marked B and C. These answers are explicit. Things were very bad, even when the officer appointed to guard St. Helena had a credit of 20,000*l.* sterling; but when he had no more than 8000*l.*, in consequence of the decision of Lord Bathurst, there did not remain what was physically necessary. From this sum of 8000*l.* sterling must be taken 5500*l.* for fixed expenses; there remain then 2500*l.* sterling for housekeeping, or 10*d.* a day to each man; this is a soldier's pay. The house steward caused the plate to be cut up on the 20th October, and sold 952 ounces of it; on the 9th November, 1227 ounces; and on the 30th December, 2040; and by these means effected the requisite supplies; the Governor appointed the banker who was to purchase this silver, and fixed the rate at 5*s.* the ounce. The resource of silver is exhausted; at present, on the 1st of June, the means of subsistence arise from 13 bills of exchange, of 300*l.* sterling, each payable monthly, for effects which Count Las Casas had in London at his own disposal, which he offered and lent in January, 1817. The question here is very simple; either the English Government are obliged to furnish the supplies that are wanted, and these wants have been determined by the officers on a principle of strict necessity, and on a parsimonious scale; or, if they do not conceive themselves so obliged, let them allow a correspondence with Europe, as was said in the postscript of the letter of the 23rd August, and let them permit ships to be sent to procure what is wanting. There is nothing in this place, not even wood; the very fuel is sent from England, and the meat from Africa. But to be unwilling to furnish what is necessary, and not to allow it to be procured, is the height of injustice and tyranny. It is making a sport of obligations and of all duties! It is affording a surmise of what thoughts are entertained! They had better be openly avowed.

'Times,' April 24, 1818.

The following paragraphs relative to Buonaparte are taken from an interesting book just published, entitled 'Journal of a Visit to South Africa,' by the Rev. C. I. Latrobe:—

'I will quote one instance of the effect of his dissatisfaction about things of a minor importance, which came to my knowledge from the best authority. A butcher, at James-town, who used to deliver meat for his table, being at length wearied out with continual repetition of complaints, though he furnished the best meat he could procure, directed the following laconic epistle to the Governor:—"Sir Hudson! May it please your Excellency, this same General Buonaparte is hard to please. I beg to be excused sarving him any longer with meat."

'As he hates Sir Hudson Lowe, the latter does not unnecessarily

trouble him with his presence, but delivers all notices to him by Sir Thomas Reade, whose polished manners, good-humoured disposition, and knowledge of the Italian language, which Gen. Buonaparte is said to prefer to French in conversation, makes him a pleasant messenger. Sir Thomas has therefore had more opportunities of becoming acquainted with him in the various affections of his mind, than most Englishmen with whom he has conversed.

'A proof of great meanness is this, that he will not give credit to the English for any great warlike action. He says that, by all the rules of war, *he* ought to have gained the battle of Waterloo, and that the Duke of Wellington ought, if he had been a good general, to have retreated, and not made his stand where he did. Yet at other times, feeling peculiarly indignant at the Prussians, he, of course, will not allow them to have had any share in the result of that action, but describes his defeat to the firmness of the English infantry alone, by which all his plans were disconcerted.

'It is not my intention to add to the numberless accounts given of this celebrated captive, who thinks that he has friends and defenders enough among the English nation. Not having seen and spoken with him myself, I can only repeat what has been said by others, and as to those communications, which are made in the course of friendly and unguarded conversation, I am of opinion that, without special permission, common civility requires that they should not be published, lest by any unintentional misstatement, uneasiness might be created in the minds of men, whose kindness and liberality deserve to be rewarded with the most scrupulous attention to their feelings.

'General Buonaparte once observed to a gentleman, at whose house he seemed to bear his lot with considerable composure, that so many extraordinary things had happened to him in his life, which has happened to no other man, that he should not be surprised if some time hence the British Government were to recall him.'

'Morning Chronicle,' May 7, 1818.

From an article in the contingent accounts of the army, it would appear that even the clerks in office are instructed to mention the once great and formidable name of Bonaparte, with the official indignity due to a *fallen enemy*. In that account a sum is stated to have been paid to a Mr. Glover for keeping the accounts of the expenses incurred on account of General Bonaparte and his *followers*, while another *item* in the same account, to mark the high distinction due to another of his *followers*, specifies a much larger sum paid to Captain Cochrane of the Navy, for conveying the *Austrian Commissioner* and his *suite* to the Island of St. Helena.

NAPOLEON

'Morning Chronicle,' June 15, 1818.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM ST. HELENA, DATED 14th MARCH, 1818.

Independent of all the miseries I have described as being inseparable from a residence upon this rock, the insalubrity of the climate is so great as to excite the most serious apprehensions in my mind for my family. Liver complaints, dysenteries, and bowel affections of the most violent nature prevail here to a most alarming extent. Perhaps in no given space of the same extent in the world is hepatitis so frequently found, or under so formidable appearances, suppuration frequently taking place in a few days from the first attack, whilst others are spun out to a more protracted, but equally fatal termination. Not a day passes without our ears being dinned with the lugubrious sound of the funeral bell; tolling for two or three who have fallen victims to its mortality. Already the heads of the first families in the island have been hurried to the grave by it. During the course of seven years' service in India, I have never seen the complaint proceed with such rapid steps to a fatal termination. Since the arrival of the 66th Regiment here in 1816, until the end of 1817, we have buried *one hundred men, women and children*, being about one-thirteenth part of the whole, and the remainder of the King's troops have lost about 40, independent of the deaths of the squadron, which amount to near 60, and those of the St. Helena Regiment and inhabitants, which is greater in proportion than would be experienced in either the East or West Indies. What could have induced writers to boast so much of the salubrity of this island I cannot discover, as very few of the natives arrive at the age of 40, and it is peculiarly unfriendly to Europeans, and above all to such as have passed the meridian of life. Few even of the most temperate of my acquaintance are free from some hepatic affection, to produce which there must be certain inexplicable causes existing in the air and the water, as those of both sexes and of every age who scarcely ever stir out (and who, consequently, are not exposed to the great change of temperature experienced on ascending the mountains from the town, to which, and to the action of the rays of the sun, the prevalence of the malady was first attributed), and who lead the most temperate lives, are frequently attacked by it. There have been three deaths at Longwood within the last three weeks; amongst them was Bonaparte's steward, Cypriani, a man well known and greatly respected here—all of them by bowel complaints, and it is whispered that his master will soon follow, as he has been labouring under symptoms of liver complaint (produced probably by the climate, and aggravated by confinement) for some time. It is an ill wind that blows nobody good—at least *we* will gain a release from this wretched unhealthy rock upon that event taking place.

'Times,' August 17, 1818.

A morning paper published the following as a literal translation of the protest made by the Count de Bertrand on the dismission of Mr. O'Meara:—

'*Longwood, April* 13, 1818.

'Monsieur le Gouverneur,—Dr. O'Meara made known to me yesterday that, in consequence of an order emanating from you, he was obliged to quit this island. On this occasion I have the honour to request you to consider that M. O'Meara was given us by your Government, on our demand, and by way of substitute for a French physician—that he has our confidence—that the Emperor has been for seven months affected with a chronical disease in the liver, a disease mortal in this country, and occasioned by the want of exercise, which he has been unable to take for two years, from the manner in which you have abused, and still abuse your powers;—that things have come to that pass that the patient requires attendance every day;—that for two years you have been wishing to dismiss M. O'Meara, to substitute M. Baxter in his place;—that notwithstanding your repeated applications, the Emperor has constantly refused to receive this Physician, for whom he has an invincible repugnance. Consider, that if you take from him M. O'Meara, without supplying his place by a French or Italian Physician, already known, you oblige this Prince to die destitute of all assistance. He is determined on this point. His agony will be the more painful; but the sufferings of the body are temporary, whereas the opprobrium which such ferocious conduct stamps on the character of your nation will be eternal.

'I am instructed—1st. To declare that Dr. O'Meara is the only physician on this rock in whom the patient has any confidence. 2d. To protest against his dismissal with whatever pretext it may be attempted to be coloured, unless it be the consequence of a legal decision.

'I have the honour to be,

'Monsieur le Gouverneur,

'Your very humble and very obedient servant,

(Signed) 'COUNT BERTRAND.

'To Governor Lieut.-Colonel Sir Hudson Lowe.'

'Morning Chronicle,' August 17, 1818.

It was stated in a morning paper of Saturday that Madame Bertrand had arrived in the river from St. Helena. On this *The Courier* of the same day said, 'Upon inquiry we find that it is not Madame Bertrand, but her maid, and who, with her husband and a servant of Bonaparte, have been ordered to depart from England.' *The Star*, however

asserts that it is Madame Bertrand who has arrived in the *General Kidd*, and she is at present detained on board the *Flamer* off Gravesend, the Government not allowing her to land in England. We do not know which of these accounts is true, but it is acknowledged that several of Bonaparte's suite have left St. Helena. We should like to know whether the same sort of treatment which has been suffered by Mr. O'Meara has been practised towards these persons, as the means of leaving Bonaparte without any individuals on whose attachment he can rely.

'Morning Chronicle,' August 20, 1818.

We have recently published some documents respecting the conduct of Sir Hudson Lowe, the Governor of St. Helena, towards Mr. O'Meara, particularly with reference to the medical attendance of the latter upon Bonaparte. We are now enabled to give to our readers the whole series of correspondence which passed upon the occasion alluded to; and, although some of the letters have already appeared in our paper, the extreme interest of the subject under all the circumstances connected with it, and the justice due to the character of Mr. O'Meara, as observed by our correspondent, induces us to re-publish them; by which course, also, the series will be unbroken. We are happy to learn that Mr. O'Meara has been re-instated in his attendance upon Bonaparte, until the pleasure of the Government here is signified respecting him. We give a part of the correspondence this day, and intend to continue it until it is completed.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE 'MORNING CHRONICLE.'

London, Aug. 17, 1818.

Sir,—The Morning Post of this morning having stated, 'that it is by no means likely that Sir Hudson Lowe would have removed Dr. O'Meara without good reasons,' and as such insinuations may prejudice this gentleman's character in the eyes of the world, and induce people to suppose that he is really deserving of the illegal and unauthorised punishment inflicted upon him by Sir H. Lowe, I feel it a duty I owe to Mr. O'Meara (who is my most intimate friend) to send you the enclosed letter, written by him to Sir H. Lowe, and the declaration accompanying it, for insertion in your paper.

Mr. O'Meara sent me these documents for my private perusal, and in order to divest my mind of any impressions unfavourable to him, in consequence of his removal from the extraordinary situation he held under Bonaparte, but, as his name has lately so much been called in question, I deem it indispensably my duty to give them to the public for the same reasons that induced him to send them for my private information.

W. F.

Longwood, Dec. 23, 1817.

Sir,—In consequence of some circumstances which have latterly occurred relative to the obligations expected from a person filling the situation I have the honour to hold, I conceive it to be essentially necessary to lay the following statement before your Excellency for your consideration.

When in August, 1815, Count Bertrand (after having received satisfactory answers from Captain Maitland, of his Majesty's ship *Bellerophon*, to inquiries made by him touching my character and conduct) did me the honour to make application to Admiral Lord Keith for me to accompany Napoleon Bonaparte to St. Helena in quality of Surgeon, his Lordship was pleased to approve of, and sanction my accepting of the above-named situation, which, at his Lordship's recommendation, was afterwards confirmed by the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty; the appointment, therefore, was not of my seeking.

I never for a moment entertained the most distant idea that, independent of my medical duties, it was expected that I should make a Report of the conversations which I might have with the persons whom my duties led me to visit; no such proposition was ever made to me either by Lord Keith or Sir George Cockburn, nor was even the most distant insinuation to that effect made by the above-mentioned distinguished characters.

When asked by Napoleon Bonaparte to tell him candidly whether he ought to consider me as a Surgeon *d'un Galéré*, or as a medical man in whom he could repose confidence, I replied, that I was not Surgeon *d'un Galéré;* that I was Surgeon, and not a spy, and one in whom I hoped he might place confidence—that my principles were to forget the conversations I had with my patients on leaving the room, unless as far as regarded my allegiance as a British officer to my Sovereign and country—and that my orders only obliged me to one thing, to wit, to give immediate notice to the Governor in case of any serious illness befalling him, in order that the best medical advice might be promptly afforded.

When asked again, subsequently, whether I am not obliged by your orders, Sir, to go twice a week to Plantation House to make reports, and what the nature of such reports or communications was, I referred to the sentiments expressed above.

When minutely interrogated by you, Sir, as to the number of interviews, and the subject of conversations I have had, and when informed by you, Sir, that I was no judge of the importance of the subjects of any conversations I might have—that I had no business to set up my own judgment on the nature of them—that you might think several things of great importance which I might consider as trifling and uninteresting—I have had the honour to reply, that if I was not at liberty to exercise any discretion or judgment as to the importance or otherwise of such conversations as I might be present at, there was evidently no other alternative than that of repeating to you every syllable which passed, the doing of which would place me in the situation of a man acting the most base and dishonourable part. In fact, that I would be a spy and a 'mouton.' That such conduct would cover my name with well-merited infamy, and render me unfit for the society of any man of honour.

He who, clothed with the specious garb of a physician, insinuates himself into the confidence of his patient, and avails himself of the frequent opportunities and facilities which his situation necessarily presents of being near his person, to wring (under pretence of curing or alleviating his infirmities, and in that confidence which has been from time immemorial reposed by the sick in persons professing the healing art) disclosures of his patient's sentiments and opinions, for the purpose of afterwards betraying them, deserves most justly to be branded with the appellation of 'mouton.'

In answer to your question on the 16th of this month, of 'whether I had given my word of honour not to make any written reports of the state of Napoleon Bonaparte's health, without obtaining his consent, and leaving the originals in his possession?' I had the honour to reply to you, Sir, that I had avoided giving such a pledge, by stating (according to your directions) that none would be asked without first acquainting him.

I have the honour to acquaint you, Sir, that Count Bertrand has signified to me, that with respect to the title, it might be easy to arrange matters by making use of no proper names in the reports, and by substituting the words personage, or the patient, in lieu thereof; that provided this was done, previous consent being obtained, the originals deposited with one of the French suite, there would be no objection to written reports of the state of Napoleon Bonaparte's health being made. The substance of this I have had the honour to make known to you verbally, on the 15th of October, and the 14th of this month.

Having so often received contradictory instructions from you, Sir, I must beg leave to reiterate the request I have frequently made to you before, to wit, to be furnished with instructions in writing, to the end that I may well comprehend my situation, and what is required from me, and to prevent the possibility of mistakes which may arise from verbal instructions being either forgotten, or badly comprehended.

It is with infinite pain, Sir, that I feel obliged to refer to the ignominious treatment which I have suffered from you in your *own house*, especially upon two occasions. Were I culpable, even a Court Martial could not authorise the intemperate and opprobrious epithets so liberally bestowed upon me, and being twice turned out of doors in the presence of witnesses; the last time not without apprehensions on my part of experiencing personal violence. I have, Sir, had the honour of serving my country in the Royal Navy for several years, until now without censure, and perhaps not without some little commendation; and I must protest against any person, however superior to me in rank, making use of language and treatment towards me unworthy of, and degrading to an officer who has the honour to serve in his Majesty's navy.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
With all due respect,
Your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,
BARRY O'MEARA, Surgeon, R.N.

To his Excellency Lieut.-Gen. Sir Hudson Lowe,
K.C.B., &c., &c., Governor.

St. Helena, April 10, 1818.

SIR,—I am directed by Lieutenant-General Sir Hudson Lowe to convey to you his instructions, that except in the event of anything extraordinary occurring, which you might feel it your duty to report immediately in person to him, you are not to quit Longwood without his permission, unless under a call for medical attendance, when other medical aid is not at hand, or unless under the circumstance of Napoleon Bonaparte passing outside the grounds of Longwood, when, if he should require it, you may follow him, observing, however, that pursuant to the original arrangement made by Rear-Admiral Sir Geo. Cockburn, your attendance upon him cannot be considered as supplying the place of a British officer should he pass beyond the limits.

Your immediate attendance upon the Naval Commander-in-Chief, should he at any time require it, is also an exception to the above rule.

In case of your feeling it necessary, or desiring to call in or consult with other medical aid, you will apply forthwith to Mr. Baxter (or to any nearer medical person, if the suddenness of the case should require it), making known the same to the Orderly Officer, who has orders to place a dragoon at your disposition, for the above or any other purpose you may want one, connected with your medical duty.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed) T. READE, Lieut.-Col. D.A.G.

Barry O'Meara, Esq., Longwood.

Longwood, April 12, 1818.

SIR,—I have had the honour this morning of receiving a letter from Lieut.-Colonel Sir Thos. Read, Deputy Adjutant-General, containing instructions, in your Excellency's name, by which I find that I am assimilated with the French prisoners at Longwood.

When, in 1815, Count Bertrand asked me to accompany Napoleon Bonaparte as surgeon, I declared to Admiral Lord Keith and Captain Maitland (both of whom strongly recommended my accepting of the offer) that I would accept of the situation on certain conditions, viz.—that I should continue upon the Navy List in my rank as surgeon, with my time going on; that it should be permitted me to resign, should I find the situation not to be consonant to my wishes; that I should not be considered as dependent upon or paid by Napoleon Bonaparte, but as a British officer employed by the British Government (and consequently not subject to any restriction or restrictions imposed upon French prisoners), preferring to renounce any situation, however advantageous, rather than give up my independence and the rights to which every British subject is entitled by the laws of the land which gave him birth; the subsequent arrangements made by the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty show that all these conditions were approved of.

In June 1817, you, Sir, manifested some intention of imposing upon me the same restrictions as the French prisoners were subjected to. I had then the honour to communicate to you the stipulations which I had made, and the conditions under which I had accepted the situation; adding, that I would prefer giving in my resignation to submitting to any such restrictions. I therefore, Sir, consider your

Order, of the 10th of this month, as a demand for my resignation, and I have the honour now, Sir, to tender it to you, and also to demand permission to return to England, as no pecuniary advantages are sufficiently powerful to induce me to give up my rights as a British subject, and to sully the uniform which I have the honour to wear.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
With all possible respect,
Your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,
(Signed) BARRY E. O'MEARA, Surgeon, R.N.

To his Excellency Lieut.-Gen. Sir Hudson Lowe,
K.C.B., &c., &c., Governor.

Longwood, April 12, 1818.

Sir,—I have received this morning a letter, bearing date the 10th of this month, containing directions from the Governor of the island, that I am not permitted in future to stir out of Longwood; which is equivalent to saying that I am to be subjected to the same restrictions as the French prisoners.

When, in 1815, I resolved, in consequence of the confidence you had manifested towards me, and the advice of Admiral Lord Keith and Captain Maitland, to accept of the situation of Surgeon, I made a special condition, that in so doing I should be continued upon the Navy List, in my rank as Surgeon, with my time going on; and that I should be considered as a British officer, paid by the British Government, and consequently not subject to any restriction or restrictions which it might be thought proper to impose upon the French; desiring thereby to preserve my character as a British officer unsullied.

Ten months past, the Governor conveyed to me some intimation of his wish to submit me to the same restrictions as the French; to which I replied, by making known to him the engagements which I had made, and that, however flattering might be the confidence which had been placed in me, nothing would induce me to degrade my character and the uniform which I wore, by renouncing the privileges to which every Englishman is entitled by the laws of his country.

It appears clearly to me now that the intentions are, by subjecting me to such restrictions, to oblige me to quit the Chief Personage at Longwood, and I am under the necessity of representing to you, Sir, that however painful it is to my feelings to do so, in the actual state of ill-health in which he is at present, it is impossible for me to sacrifice my character, and my rights as a British subject, to the desire which I have of being useful to him; and I have, in consequence, formed the resolution to depart, and return to my native country. In doing this, I do not conceive that I break through any engagement which I may have contracted with you, since it is caused by a superior power, as independent of my will, as an irresistible physical force, or death itself. It is doubtless true, that I made a promise to stay as long as you remained in the state you are, and whilst I could be of any service to you; but in so doing I only expressed my volition to execute, which is now as impossible as if I were labouring under sickness, or no more.

I had an interview this morning, but, in consequence of observing him to be very unwell, I did not like to communicate to him the novel

intelligence which must cause my departure from him; I therefore beg of you, who are most accustomed to, and have a greater right to his confidence, to make it known to him.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
With the greatest respect,
Your most obliged humble servant,
(Signed) BARRY E. O'MEARA, Surgeon.

To Lieut.-General Count Bertrand, &c., &c,, &c.

'Morning Chronicle,' August 21, 1818.

[CONTINUATION OF THE CORRESPONDENCE COMMENCED IN OUR PAPER OF YESTERDAY.]

Longwood, April 13, 1818.

Monsieur le Gouverneur,—Doctor O'Meara made known to me yesterday that, in consequence of an order emanating from you, he was obliged to quit this Island. On this occasion I have the honour to request you to consider, that Mr. O'Meara was given us by your Government on our demand, and by way of substitute for a French physician;—that he has our confidence;—that the Emperor has been for seven months affected with a chronical disease of the liver, a disease mortal in this country, and occasioned by want of exercise, which he has been unable to take for two years, from the manner in which you have abused, and still abuse your powers;—that things are come to that pass that the patient requires attendance every day;—that for two years you have been wishing to dismiss M. O'Meara, to substitute M. Baxter in his place;—that, notwithstanding your reiterated applications, the Emperor has constantly refused to receive this physician, for whom he has *an invincible repugnance*. Consider that if you take from him M. O'Meara, without supplying his place by a French or Italian physician already known, you oblige this Prince to die destitute of all assistance. He is determined on this point. His agony will be the more painful; but the sufferings of the body are temporary; whereas the opprobrium which such ferocious conduct stamps on the character of your nation will be eternal.

I am instructed—1st. To declare that Dr. O'Meara is the only physician on this rock in whom the patient has any confidence. 2nd. To protest against his dismissal, with whatever pretext it may be attempted to be coloured, unless it be the consequence of a legal decision.

I have the honour to be,
Monsieur le Gouverneur,
Your very humble and very obedient servant,
(Signed) COUNT BERTRAND.

To Governor Lieut.-Colonel Sir Hudson Lowe.

Plantation House, April 17, 1818.

Sir,—The Governor directs you will enclose to me, for his information, copy of the letter you addressed to Count Bertrand on the day of your receiving his last instructions through Sir Thos. Reade.—The bearer can wait for the same.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) G. GORREQUER, Major, Act. Mil. Sec.

Barry O'Meara, Esq., Longwood.

Longwood, April 17, 1818.

Sir,—When I received his Excellency's directions on the 12th inst. my first step was to proceed to Napoleon Bonaparte in order to acquaint him that I had determined to give in my resignation, and to express my regret for the necessity under which I was of doing so. Finding him, however, indisposed and in bed, I did not think proper to communicate it to him, and I therefore wrote a letter to Count Bertrand, in which I begged of him to do so; of that letter I have preserved no copy, but the tenor of it was nearly similar to that which I had the honour to address to his Excellency the same day.

Having until now discharged my duty in an honourable manner, I must anxiously beg leave to solicit my discharge from the humiliating situation in which I am placed at present, and will feel obliged for any acceleration of my departure, which you may have it in your power to obtain. I remain, Sir, &c.,

BARRY E. O'MEARA, Surgeon.

To Major Gorrequer, Act. Mil. Sec.

Plantation House, April 18, 1818.

Sir,—I have laid your letter of yesterday before the Governor, whom it has not satisfied.

Your first step, on receiving his instructions, if you found a difficulty to comply with them, was to have made known the same to him, or to have acquainted him with your intention to resign, if you preferred taking such a step to seeking any alteration of them.

Your last step, considered as a point of duty (if your resolution was founded on any instruction received from the Governor), should have been not to have acquainted Napoleon Bonaparte with anything of the matter until you had the Governor's concurrence for making known the same to him.

That you had the intention to resign has long since been known.

Your letter to Count Bertrand, without the Governor having seen it, and before you had thought fit to address him, was a direct breach of the regulations, for which, and all consequence of which, you are responsible.

If it referred to any instruction received from the Governor, it was your duty to have kept a copy of it; you can obtain that from Count Bertrand, or can borrow the original from him to copy.

In asking leave to copy the letter it is not necessary to acquaint

him that it is to send to the Governor, and thus perhaps furnish a motive for his refusal.

The Governor can accept no excuse for your not sending the copy required, as he wants to send it to Government, and as the means are fully within your reach to obtain that copy.

It is, therefore, unnecessary to again address me, unless for the purpose of inclosing it.

I am, Sir, &c., &c. &c,

G. GORREQUER, Major, Act. Mil. Sec.

Barry O'Meara, Esq., Surgeon.

P.S.—If you object sending a copy of the letter lest it might lead to your own condemnation, I am directed to observe that the fact of your having written the letter was known on the day you addressed Count Bertrand by his communication to me, and the withholding a copy of it would therefore furnish stronger grounds for official notice.

G. G.

Longwood, April 19, 1818.

Sir,—According to your Excellency's directions, communicated to me yesterday by Major Gorrequer, I proceeded to Count Bertrand, and begged him, as I had not preserved a copy of the letter I had written to him on the 12th of this month, to lend it to me for the purpose of taking a copy, which he did without the smallest hesitation. Indeed, a little before the interview which took place between him and Major Gorrequer, he asked me if I had any objections to my letter being shown to Major Gorrequer, and he has since informed me that his intentions were, that he might either keep it or take a copy, as he had done with several other papers some days before.

For ten months your Excellency has several times manifested to me intentions to subject me to the same restrictions as the French prisoners, to which I have always refused to consent: and I must beg leave now to state, that your Excellency has not the right to do so, as Napoleon Bonaparte is not considered as a prisoner of war, otherwise than by virtue of an Act of Parliament; and the other French (not even the domestics) are not named in the Bill, and could not be subjected to the restrictions which have been imposed upon them, if they had not given their consent by written engagement, the effect of which ceases at the moment of their option, as is clearly shown by the recent departure of General Gourgaud; therefore still stronger reasons exist that an English subject cannot be submitted to such restrictions without a special and written consent on his part, to which I have always protested, and protest I will never agree to, as it would be signing the dishonour of the naval uniform, and would inevitably draw down upon me the contempt of the brother officers with whom I have the honour to serve. Therefore, in the natural state of things, neither your Excellency nor any other authority can subject me to restrictions contrary to the rights of an officer, and the laws of England.

I have also had the honour to observe to you that, independent of the general guarantee of the laws, I had provided a private one in the stipulations which I had made in 1815, when Admiral Lord Keith, then commanding the Channel Fleet, in consequence of the request

made to him by Count Bertrand that I should be attached to Napoleon, as surgeon, in place of the French surgeon whom the English Government had permitted to accompany him, authorized me to do so, I begged of his Lordship to give me an order in writing, which he declined doing.

I recollect perfectly well his answer, which was—'It is not in my power to *order* you to accept of it, as it is out of the naval service, and a business altogether extraordinary, and must be voluntary on your part; but I, as Commander-in-Chief, will authorize you to accept of it, and I advise you most strongly to do so, as I am convinced the Government will be obliged to you, and it is a situation which may, with propriety and honour, be held by an Englishman.' Although it was impossible for me not to follow the advice of such a distinguished officer, nevertheless I made some stipulations, viz.—that I should be at liberty to resign, should I find the situation not to be consonant to my wishes; that I should be borne upon the Navy List in my rank as surgeon, with my time going on; that I should not be paid or considered as dependent upon Napoleon Bonaparte, but as a British officer (and consequently not subject to any restrictions inflicted upon French prisoners); and I have repeatedly had the honour, verbally, to express to you, that sooner than consent to allow my rights as an English officer to be violated, I would prefer giving in my resignation; and as you appeared to be struck with my observations and the stipulations which I had made with the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, I therefore concluded that you had given up all idea of putting them in execution. When, on the 12th of this month, I received instructions contrary to my natural rights, the stipulations I had made, and the protestations which I frequently made to yourself which you caused to be sent to me, I immediately comprehended that it was merely a way of obliging me to quit Longwood. Delicacy, my duties as a medical man, and humanity, alike ordained that, prior to quitting, I should acquaint Napoleon Bonaparte with my intention, and I did so.

In neither the Army or Navy is it the custom, when any officer is desirous to resign, for him to *first* consult his Royal Highness the Duke of York, or the First Lord of the Admiralty, touching the propriety or otherwise of his doing so, the resignation tendered direct through the proper channels is always the first intimation; therefore in sending my resignation to your Excellency without first consulting you, I was only acting according to the established customs of both services.

In writing the letter to Count Bertrand I have not violated the respect which I owe to your Excellency as head of the Government, as the question contained in it has been frequently agitated before. I have not violated the Act of Parliament, or any written restriction emanating from you. An inhabitant of Longwood, I have not been subjected to the restrictions imposed upon the inhabitants of the island either with respect to passes, as I live in the house, or as to communications, because for near three years communications daily and nightly, verbally and in writing, have taken place between us. There is not a day passes that I do not see the French several times, very frequently by night, and not a week that I do not make written communications to both the masters and the servants upon medical and other subjects pertaining to physic.

I have not violated any written instructions, because I have never

received any *positive* prohibition restraining the nature of my communications. In all the restrictions there was always a latitude, a kind of discretional power allowed me, by stating 'that I was *not* ordered not to reply to Napoleon Bonaparte or to any of his family on any other subject not medical; that, if I did so, the responsibility must rest upon myself; that I had not *his* authority for doing so.' Indeed, *had* a positive prohibition been given, to comply with it is evidently impracticable for any person in my situation; and, as to the responsibility, I am content to bear the whole of it.

When frequently required to act in a manner which I conceived to be incompatible with my feelings and profession, and dishonourable to me, I have had the honour to demand *clear* and *positive* instructions in *writing*, in order that I might study, meditate upon, and execute them punctually; or, if I found anything in them contrary to my conscience, to give in my resignation. I have never had any except such as were worded in the manner I have described above.

For some months I have been made to lead a most wretched life by your Excellency's obliging me to proceed to your house twice a week, reviling me, turning me out of doors in a most ignominious manner, once, indeed, having experienced everything except personal violence, menaced by words and looks, because I did not choose to comply with *verbal* insinuations.

It is not for me, Sir, to pretend to remain in the situation against your will, but, instead of receiving orders to that effect from the Right Hon. the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, means are taken to oblige me to quit by attacks upon my rights and personal liberty, and for several days I have been oppressed, humiliated, and dishonoured; dishonoured as much as an officer can be by an arbitrary act, and rendered by indignation nearly incapable of exercising my calling. I have, therefore, Sir, the honour to demand from your Excellency—1st. Either the rescinding of your directions of the 10th of this month, and the privilege of exercising my functions at Longwood as I have done for nearly three years. 2nd. Or to accept the resignation which I wrote as soon as I found that I was assimilated to the French prisoners, and to allow me to proceed to England. 3rd. Or, if it is asserted that I have committed a crime, either in writing the enclosed letter to Count Bertrand, or by having done anything else which I am ignorant of, and which your Excellency has not thought proper to communicate to me, or of not having complied with verbal and obscure directions, or of having in any way violated the Act of Parliament, I demand to be, according to the provisions of that Act, transferred to England for trial before a competent Court. I further protest against any longer detention in the state of oppression in which I am, which, by rendering me incapable of following my professional avocations, necessitates my being speedily replaced at Longwood; and I appeal to the justice of the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty against the violation of the terms under which I accepted the situation.

I have the honour to be, Sir, with all possible respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,

B. O'MEARA, Surgeon, Royal Navy.

To his Excellency Lieut.-General Sir Hudson Lowe, K.C.B., &c., Governor.

St. Helena, 1st May, 1818.

My dear Sir,—As it is probable that my removal from the situation which I now hold will, ere long, take place (which event, indeed, considering the manner in which I have been tormented and ill-treated for several months past, obviously and evidently with a view to oblige me to resign, is now desirable), I have thought it essential to my justification to forward to you the above letter (which was sent to the Governor the day it was written), and the other inclosures of my letters and the replies to them, in order that you, from whom I have received so many marks of friendship, and whose esteem and good opinion I prize so highly, may not be led to suppose, by any artful insinuations or misrepresentations, arising from malice, revenge, a dread of the truth's being made known in England, or even of mere mistake, that any improper or dishonourable conduct on my part, has occasioned my removal from a situation, to which, whether considered in the light of novelty or delicacy, history offers no parallel. To you, one of my earliest and sincerest friends, I am bound to render this indispensable explanation; which obliges me to discontinue the secrecy which hitherto I have maintained, even with respect to my own situation upon this rock.

Believe me to be, my dear Sir,
Your most sincere and obliged friend,
BARRY O'MEARA, Surgeon.

To Wm. Ferguson, Esq.

'Morning Chronicle,' August 22, 1818.

[CONTINUATION OF THE CORRESPONDENCE.]

St. Helena, April 19, 1818.

Sir,—Your letter to Count Bertrand, your direct disobedience to the Governor's orders, and open disavowal of his authority immediately afterwards, would appear to render other measures necessary than that of replying to any letter addressed by you to him after such proceedings; but, as it is desirable your removal from Longwood should be combined with a certain consideration towards the person on whom you are attending, I have received the Governor's directions notwithstanding to reply to your letter of the 12th instant, as follows:—

Firstly, the instructions I conveyed to you, in his name, on the 10th instant, do not, as you have stated, assimilate you to the 'French prisoners' at Longwood, unless so far as a consciousness of your having given cause to be so assimilated may have led you to suppose by implication such to have been the Governor's intention.

If considered as a restriction, they differ materially from those imposed upon the French officers, inasmuch as circumstances might render a different kind of regulation necessary for inforcing compliance with established rules on the part of a person in an official situation

who may have given reason to suppose that he is capable of misusing its trust and opportunities, than the foreign persons who are the object of their rules, and who, however they might be disposed, could not with the same facility evade them.

If, however, considered simply as an order for the most exact performance of your medical duties, they impose no restraint beyond that which it is entirely in the Governor's discretion and authority to impose, as it is in his opinion to judge whether the only medical person attached to the establishment at Longwood, and the only one in this island whom Napoleon Bonaparte has hitherto been willing to consult, shall be at liberty to quit the premises at any time he pleases or not, leaving in the former case no medical attendant at all on the spot, or giving occasion for calling in persons whose visits there the Governor may not be informed of, or might not think fit to concur in.

The instruction requires this permission for your quitting Longwood, but where it is granted it does not require (as in the case of the foreign persons when they pass beyond the limits) that you should proceed unaccompanied.

The second paragraph of your letter recites the stipulations you made upon accepting your situation, avoiding, however, to refer to the only document which contains them, viz., your letter to Lord Keith, and his reply.

The statement you have now presented is not a correct transcript of that letter, the omissions and additions to it are stated in the paper annexed. You say all the conditions were approved of by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty. Their Lordships' names have been thus most unwarrantably brought forward in approval of superadded conditions which they never could have seen; but, even if they had approved any such, it is not likely they would consider them as exempting you from obedience to local regulations.

The third paragraph of your letter says, the Governor manifested in *June* last *some* intention of imposing upon you the same restrictions as the French prisoners were subjected to, and that on that occasion you communicated the stipulations you made, and adding, you would prefer giving in your resignation to submitting to any such restrictions, from whence you draw the inference that the instructions now conveyed to you are a demand for your resignation.

The Governor desires me to controvert the fact of his ever having used any expression to justify you in such a conclusion or inference, as that he had an intention to place you under the same restrictions as those imposed upon the French prisoners, so called by you. Such intention, in fact, was never in his contemplation, nor did any officer of his staff, either at the time to which you refer, or at any time subsequently, ever hear him express it, nor was any argument on such point ever brought forward into discussion with you, nor was any other stipulation or condition of your service ever made known to the Governor, to leave or to merit any trace in his recollection, beyond what was expressed in your letter to him of the 6th August, 1815, and in your letter to Lord Keith, of which last, though you may not have been aware of it, you have left a copy with him, but to neither of which, as written documents, you have thought proper to refer.

When you left with the Governor the copy of your letter to Lord Keith, which contains the only original condition to which you are

authorised to refer in any official communication to him, you did not make known any such stipulation as that which is now introduced; nor would the Governor have admitted you to do so in any sense opposed to the due and necessary exercise of his authority, nor did you accompany the delivery of that paper with any such declaration as that to which you now draw in inference from the superadded stipulation.

Further, if a matter should arise for any regulation which might appear to place you under a similar restraint with the foreign persons at Longwood, resulting from a breach or evasion of any established rule, whereby you might be rendering yourself instrumental to their views, and counteracting the disposition of your own Government, it is by you, Sir, the measure would be forced, and not by the Governor; and the more present to your memory, such a declaration as that referred to, the more premeditated on your part, and the more compulsory on the Governor would your line of proceeding in such case appear.

Your intention, however, to quit this island was known in England several months before the Governor knew it. How does this accord with your promise to Napoleon Bonaparte not to quit him as long as he remained in his present state? Of the above determination it was your first duty to have acquainted the Governor, in order that Napoleon Bonaparte also might have been informed of it, and you are responsible for any inconvenience which may result to him by not having done so.

In reference to that part of your letter in which you speak of your independence and rights as British subjects, the Governor does not consider your emancipation from the duties of a surgeon of a man of war, to be employed equally under the orders of Government in a particular duty on shore, grants any new privilege on such head.

If you were to return to your duty on board a man of war, and circumstances should require the Commander of it to convey an order to you not to quit it without his permission, you would not presume, nor would he suffer you to talk of your rights and independence to him, if acting in disobedience to such order, particularly before any representation was made against it, nor would a Naval Court Martial pay much attention to this plea, if such an act of insubordination was brought to their judgment.

Disobedience to an order not to quit the particular district on shore within which your only duty lies, without superior permission (that order conveyed without censure or reflection upon you, beyond which you have yourself thought fit to imply, and disobeyed even before any representation was made against it), does not carry less ground of condemnation against you. A more serious reflection, however, occurs to the Governor's mind, on perusing the above terms in your letter.

Wherever you may have misused the confidential trust reposed in you as a British officer, by counteracting any public ordinance, which has relation to the person upon whom you are attending—wherever you may have bound yourself, by any secret pledge, to a person in his particular situation, unknown to the authority you were under, or of which you did not immediately inform it—wherever you may have allowed him or any of the persons of his suite to suppose you could be rendered an instrument for any clandestine or indirect purpose what-

ever, it would indicate a line of action not quite consistent with that spirit of independence to which you lay claim, or to that nice sense of public duty which an official situation requires, and whether your uniform might or might not be sullied, is a question which may, in such case, be considered in a very different light to that to which you appear desirous it should be treated.

In conclusion, I am directed by the Governor to acquaint you, that he accepts, and will forward to England, the resignation tendered in your letter to him, of the 12th inst., without prejudice, however, to any measures which the law or dispositions of the service to which you belong may give rise to, for any breach of law or regulation committed by you, antecedent or subsequent to the date of your resignation being tendered; further, if Napoleon Bonaparte is willing to receive the advice of any other medical person on this island than yourself—he will consent to your immediately quitting Longwood, without waiting any instructions from his Government thereupon; but, if he should not be willing to receive any other medical person, it will be proper you should continue in your present situation until your resignation has been received in England, or that some arrangement can be made for the supply of your duties.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed) TH. READE, Lieut.-Col. D.A.G.

Barry O'Meara, Esq., Longwood.

[Note:—The following appeared in the 'Morning Chronicle' for August 22, 1818.]

NOTE WRITTEN BY NAPOLEON IN THE MARGIN OF SIR THOMAS READE'S LETTER TO COUNT BERTRAND, DATED 25TH APRIL, 1818.

1. I gave you to understand, yesterday, when you presented this letter to me, that I would not condescend to notice it; and that you need not translate it to me, since it is not in the form which has been observed for three years.

2. This fresh outrage only dishonours this coxcomb. The King of England alone is entitled to treat with me upon an equality.

3. This crafty proceeding has one object—to prevent your exposing the criminal plot they have been contriving against my life for these two years past.

4. Thus it is, that affecting to open the doors to claims and complaints, they shut them the closer.

5. Thus it is, that affecting a willingness to provide me lodging, and build a house for me, I have been kept for three years in this unhealthy barn, and no building has been yet commenced.

6. Thus it is, that affecting to allow me the liberty of riding on horseback, they prevent me from so doing, and from taking exercise, by indirect means. Hence the primary cause of my illness.

7. They employ the same means to debar me from receiving any visit. They have need of obscurity.

8. Thus it is, that after having made attempts upon my physician, having forced him to give in his resignation, rather than remain a passive instrument void of all moral feeling, they nevertheless keep him under arrest at Longwood, wishing it to be believed that I have his assistance, when they well know I cannot see him, that I have not seen him for a fortnight, and that I never shall see him unless he be set at liberty, relieved from his oppressive situation, and restored to his moral independence in what concerns the exercise of his functions.

9. Thus it is they are guilty of a characteristic falsehood in causing bulletins to be issued by a physician who has never seen me, and who is ignorant both of my constitution and my disorder; but that is well calculated to deceive the Prince and people of England and Europe.

10. They indulge in a ferocious smile at the fresh sufferings this deprivation of the assistance of art adds to this tedious agony.

11. Desire this note to be sent to Lord Liverpool, and also your letter of yesterday, with those of the 13th and 24th April, that the Prince Regent may know who my —— is, and be able to publicly punish him.

12. If he does not, *I bequeath the opprobrium of my death to the reigning house of England.*

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

Longwood, 27th April, 1818.

'Morning Chronicle,' August 24, 1818.

BONAPARTE.

[CONTINUATION OF THE CORRESPONDENCE.]

Plantation House,
April 21, 1818.

Sir,—Although by an instruction from my Government I am dispensed from entering into any personal correspondence with you, and that the instructions conveyed in your letter of the 13th instant, preceded by a verbal communication to an officer of my staff, couched in such highly offensive terms, has caused him to withdraw from your house, furnish me with an additional motive to act according to the letter of that instruction, yet I shall not derive a motive from such circumstance to omit communicating to you for the information of

Notes.

1. To detail minutely Sir Hudson Lowe's conduct since his arrival in the island, and during 1816 and 1817, would be too long, and the question has already been the subject of disquisition in the observations upon Lord Bathurst's speech. During the first four months of 1818, his conduct has become still worse; the ship *Cambridge* laden with different kinds of merchandise for the Colony, arrived from England, and anchored in the Roads, on the 3rd of February; one of the officers belonging to her had purchased, in some of the London print shops, two striking

Napoleon Bonaparte, the following remarks on the leading subject of your letter.

likenesses of young Napoleon, Sir Hudson Lowe caused them to be brought to him, as he pretended, to offer them himself to the father, but in reality to deprive him of them, well knowing that the officer's intentions were to sell them at Longwood. No law takes cognisance of this action, nor is there any punishment ordained for it in the laws enacted against crimes, because it comes under the jurisdiction of opinion, but such conduct must be reprobated by every upright man.

2. The English Government confided the furnishing of provisions to Mr. Balcombe, whose family was the only one who occasionally visited the French, and in whom they had confidence. Sir Hudson Lowe deprived Mr. Balcombe of the Purveyorship on the 1st of April, 1818, availing himself of the temporary departure of the head of the concern for London. The Purveyorship has since been given to Mr. Ibbetson, Commissary-General, a man of honour, but his nomination is evidently titular, as he is too much occupied with his other duties to attend to the minute details of the service, which will fall into the hands of disreputable persons, void of credit or reputation.

3. Napoleon has been afflicted with chronic hepatitis since the month of September, 1817. Sir Hudson Lowe has persecuted his surgeon, and obliged him to give in his resignation, and consequently the treatment which was put in practice to subdue the malady must have ceased. This day, 1st of May, the patient has been days unassisted by his surgeon. Such conduct must be . . . .

4. Since October, 1817, Mr. O'Meara discontinued writing bulletins, because he engaged, if any were made, to leave the originals

in Count Bertrand's hands, which would render any falsification of them impossible. Sir Hudson Lowe employed Mr. Baxter to make bulletins without his having ever seen the patient. These bulletins are only fit to conceal projects . . . .

Mr. O'Meara's intention to quit Longwood was known in England so far back as the month of August, 1817, as will appear by the extract of a letter annexed, No. 1.

5. See the annexed certificate, marked 1, of Mr. O'Meara, in which that gentleman declares that it never was his intention to quit Longwood. In his letter of the 12th April, he gave a conditional resignation: — '*I could prefer giving in my resignation to submitting to any such restrictions, as no pecuniary advantages are sufficiently powerful to induce me to give up my rights as a British subject, and to sully the uniform which I have the honour to wear.* But if it were true, that this officer wished to give in his resignation, what necessity would there be to force him to do so? If he had resigned voluntarily, every thing would have been regular; but it appears that, because *he wished* to give in his resignation, Sir Hudson Lowe *forces* him to do so. What a pitiful argument!

I enclose also a copy of the only stipulation he has made known to me.

6. What! Sir Hudson Lowe did not know that Mr. O'Meara was Napoleon's surgeon!—He did not know that the English Government, in August, 1815, had accorded to Napoleon permission to take with him his surgeon, three of his officers, and twelve servants, and that Mr. O'Meara was *that* servant. This is truly absurd.

Your letter states, that Napoleon Bonaparte has been sick these seven months past, 'd'une maladie *chronique* du foix.' To a question put to Mr. O'Meara on the 25th of March, that is, one month past, he replied, after a great deal of hesitation, and unwillingness to name any specific disorder, saying at first, a derangement of the

7. This paragraph contains three falsehoods:—1st, That Sir Hudson did not know that Napoleon had been ill for seven months of a liver complaint. See Sir Hudson Lowe's letters of 2nd October, 6th and 26th of ditto, and 18th of November, 1817; and Count Bertrand's letters to Sir Hudson, of the 30th September, 3rd, 7th, and

biliary system; if called upon to give it a name, he should call it an incipient hepatitis; and that even this might have been wholly avoided by taking exercise, as he had recommended. When asked if he knew of any obstacle to Napoleon Bonaparte's taking exercise? he replied, he knew of none, except what might be occasioned by the state of the weather.

You cannot, Sir, dispute the propriety of my having desired to have other medical opinion called in, where such a pointed difference exists between your statement and this of Mr. O'Meara, as the words 'chronic' and 'incipient' convey.

You observe, '*Que depuis deux ans vous avez voulu chasser Mr. O'Meara pour le replacer par Mr. Baxter.*' The extract, No. 1, of Lord Bathurst's letter, above referred to, proves this to be unfounded. I do not, however, build

27th of October, 29th of November, 1817, and Mr. O'Meara's bulletins of the 1st and 5th of October (the originals of which were delivered to Sir Hudson the day they were written), especially that part which states, 'as he had not since the report been entirely free from pain, it is most probable that the complaint is *chronic hepatitis.* 2nd. That Mr. O'Meara said, on the 25th of March, 1818, that he did not know what his patient's complaint was (see the certificate annexed, marked 1, in which this assertion is declared to be a falsehood). Without doubt, such an assertion is to be found in the bulletins, which were fabricated . . . . 3rd. That he did not know why Napoleon did not go out, and that it was caused by the badness of the weather. This bad weather has lasted for *twenty months;* that is to say, since the day Sir Hudson Lowe took upon himself the right of making such restrictions as those of the 9th of October, 1816 (see Sir Hudson Lowe's letters of the 26th December, 1816; of the 14th of March, 2nd, 4th, 6th, and 9th of October, 1817; and, in general, all the letters quoted in the 7th note, in which there is, at the same time question of Napoleon's health, and the obstacles which prevented him from going out). It is difficult to divine what can be this officer's object in advancing such falsehoods, which are belied by public notoriety, by the evidence of the very persons he cites, and by a series of letters. Probably it is because he is of opinion that . . . .

8. *Sir Hudson Lowe a voulu chasser Mr. O'Meara.*

This results, 1st, from the communication which he made *himself* in the third audience which he had in May, 1816; a proposition which Napoleon rejected with

upon this letter alone; no such intention has ever been entertained by me. No proposition has ever been made from or to Mr. Baxter to occupy Mr. O'Meara's situation at Longwood; nor, if Mr. O'Meara was to quit this island, should I approve that Mr. Baxter, with the other important duties he has to exercise, should be attached to the establishment at Longwood alone.

As a gentleman of high professional abilities, and of a high rank in his profession, he came out to this island, that he might be at hand, if required, to be called upon in any case of serious malady; but he did not come out here with any view, design, or intention whatever, of entering into the situation held by Mr. O'Meara.

The most remarkable part, however, Sir, of your letter is that where you speak of the *invincible repugnance* entertained against him. I shall no further comment on the terms or spirit of this uncalled for and unprovoked expression, than to state, that, on the last occasion of your seeing Mr. Baxter, which was in November last, you were most solicitous to impress on his mind, that the objection of Napoleon Bonaparte to see him did not spring from any personal motives. You dwelt upon the confidence, on the respect entertained as well for his personal as for his professional qualities; the eulogium was so strong, that I have never been able to obtain from Mr. Baxter the repetition of all you said to him. Mr. O'Meara has confirmed to him the same favourable sentiments on the part of Napoleon Bonaparte, the repugnance you at present state, it was therefore impossible for me to know or foresee; I shall not fail to make known to my anger; 2nd, from his correspondence. See the letters of the 6th of October, 28th November, 1817; and 10th April, 1818. 3rd, He has, in fact, invested Mr. Baxter with the principal functions of surgeon at Longwood, by causing him to make bulletins of Napoleon's health, although he never saw him.

9. The invincible repugnance which the Emperor Napoleon had for Mr. Baxter was known to Sir Hudson Lowe, and the conversation which he quotes is another, and a new proof of it. This conversation is entirely perverted in his letter. Mr. Baxter declared one day, that want of exercise was mortal in this climate. Count Bertrand replied, that Napoleon did not stir out of his house, in order to shelter himself from Sir Hudson Lowe's outrages. From thence the conversation turned upon the repugnance which Napoleon appeared to have to receive Mr. Baxter's advice; and Count Bertrand said to him, that it was probable such repugnance was caused by Sir Hudson Lowe's requiring every person who was received at Longwood to report to him everything which he said, saw, or heard there (which he had recently required even from O'Meara); that, perhaps, if he (Mr. Baxter) would declare, that if he were called in consultation at Longwood, he would give beforehand his word of honour not to profit by it, so as to convert it into means of *espionage*, it was probable the greatest obstacle would be removed; the conversation terminated with mutual compliments, and in the evening when Count Bertrand spoke of it to the Emperor, he found fault with him, and said, 'Que sa repugnance étoit invincible contre ce médecin, qui a été Chirurgien-Major de Batail-

Government the desire expressed for a French or Italian physician.

In reply to the two points which you are charged to make known to me, and which are the only parts of your letter I can consider as coming from Napoleon Bonaparte himself, I beg leave to observe;

Firstly, That the communication, '*Que le Docteur O'Meara est le seul médecin de ceux qui sont sur ce rocher en qui le malade ait confiance*,' was not made known until Mr. O'Meara himself had actually tendered his resignation.

Secondly, where you protest, '*Contre son renvoir de quelque prétexte qu'on cherche à colorer a monique ce ne soit la conséquence d'un jugement légal*,' that Mr. O'Meara being an officer in the King's service and employed under Government, no civil process is necessary to effect his removal.

His resignation has been tendered, and if his removal has not already taken place it has been solely from a consideration to the arguments expressed in your letter, and the difficulty of supplying his place by any other person on this Island, not objectionable to Napoleon B. himself.

I enclose a copy of my decision, in reply to the tender of Mr. O'Meara's resignation, begging leave at the same time to express my sincere desire, however this assurance may be received, to conciliate the departure of Mr. O'Meara whenever it may take place, with every possible regard in my power to the considerations your letter has presented to me.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient and most humble servant,
(Signed) H. LOWE, Lt.-Gen.

To Lt.-Gen. Count Bertrand.

lon de déserteurs corses au service de l'Angleterre, dont Sir Lowe étoit Commandant.'

10. First, Mr. O'Meara being Napoleon's surgeon, and by his choice, Sir Hudson had no right to remove him, or to impose another upon Napoleon.

Second, Mr. O'Meara is not employed at Longwood as an officer in his Britannic Majesty's service, but as Napoleon's surgeon, and consequently his person ought to be sacred, and no attempt should have been made upon him until after having made known to him the crime of which he was culpable, or by bringing him to trial before a competent tribunal.

Even the British Government cannot change Mr. O'Meara without first revoking its decision in August, 1815, which grants to Napoleon his surgeon.

It results from this tissue of falsehoods that Sir Hudson Lowe . . . . has deprived Napoleon of his surgeon, or wishes to impose another upon him.

During seven months Napoleon's malady has suffered two interruptions of treatment—one of 15 days, in October, 1817, and the one which actually exists since the 10th of April.

[*To be continued.*]

NAPOLEON

'Morning Chronicle,' August 25, 1818.

[CONTINUATION OF THE CORRESPONDENCE.]

Longwood, 24th April, 1818.

TO THE GOVERNOR.

Sir,—When on the 12th April I was informed by Dr. O'Meara that he should discontinue the exercise of his functions as physician of the Emperor Napoleon, I hastened to send a message to Major Gorrequer, begging him to favour me with a call, having some communications to make to him of the very highest importance.

I told this officer that I had intended to apprize him of our great regret at Balcombe's house being deprived of supplying the provisions; that the journey of the principal of that house to London could not be a reason for depriving him of his business, since the service had been always performed by his partners, Messrs. Fowler and Cole, and Mr. Balcombe had never directly interfered therewith; but that the communication I had just received from Dr. O'Meara was vastly more important, and that the Emperor could not rest a single day without the aid of Dr. O'Meara.

The next day, the 13th, I had the honour to write you to the same effect. I had hoped to have an answer in the course even of that day, but this is the 24th, and I am still without any reply. Thus, for 12 days, has the Emperor been deprived of all medical assistance. In the month of October he was fifteen days without seeing Dr. O'Meara, at the time you assumed the astonishing right of imposing upon him the obligation to issue his bulletins only under your dictation, without their being first submitted to the Emperor, or the original being left in his hands. Then, however, his disorder was in its infancy, now it has made considerable progress. Count Montholon, who lodges in the same part of the building as the Emperor, informs me, that on the 18th, and to-day, the 24th, he was awakened at two o'clock in the morning by the Emperor's valet-de-chambre, and remained at that Prince's bedside from two o'clock in the morning till five, witnessing the sufferings he endured, and utterly unable to alleviate them. Your restrictions upon Longwood, of the 10th April, have thus already had the saddest effect.

I beg, therefore, to repeat my request, that you would restore Dr. O'Meara to the exercise of his functions, and discontinue to annoy him, and make him feel the effects of such ill treatment, by removing the restrictions you, so contrary to what have been in force for three years, have imposed upon him by your letter of the 10th April, to which he neither will nor can submit without dishonouring himself.

In short, Sir, whatever reasons you may be able to allege, reflect upon the consequences of continuing things in their present state, and of depriving the Emperor of the physician of his choice, without having substituted another, conformable to my letter of the 13th April. If

you still persist in this line of conduct, this arbitrary act will be duly appreciated by Europe, by your own country, and even by your Ministers.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

COUNT BERTRAND.

To Lieut.-General Sir Hudson Lowe.

Plantation House, April 25, 1818.

Sir,—I am directed by Lieut.-General Sir Hudson Lowe to make the following remarks on your letter to him of the 24th instant, received this day.

His letter of the 22nd, in answer to yours of the 13th, was transmitted to Longwood on the 24th, and delivered at your house on the same day; consequently your letter of the 24th, which did not leave Longwood until this day, must have been dispatched after his letter of the 22nd had arrived there.

The manner of your addressing Major Gorrequer on the 12th the Governor has already noted; the particular expressions you used he disdained, however, to repeat—they are foreign to English usage.

If Mr. O'Meara discontinued his functions as a medical attendant on Napoleon Bonaparte, it was entirely without the Governor's knowledge or approbation.

The copy of the Governor's decision on Mr. O'Meara's application to resign, which you received yesterday, shows that he has not been displaced from his functions, but that he is to continue to exercise them until relieved. Under these circumstances the Governor considers medical attendance for every ordinary occasion as duly provided, and that, in referring the application to England, due attention has been paid at the same time to what is stated in your letter of the 13th, as to the means of his replacement.

The assertion that your letter contains, that the Governor attempted to impose such an obligation on Mr. O'Meara as that he should write bulletins under his *dictée*, he directs me most pointedly to contradict upon whatever authority you may have made it.

In conclusion, I am directed by the Governor to acquaint you as follows:—

1st, That he will not henceforward receive any letter or communication whatsoever from any person in attendance upon Napoleon Bonaparte where the title of Emperor shall be given to him, and that if any such letter or communication be transmitted, it will be returned; acting in this respect in strict conformity to the instruction conveyed in Earl Bathurst's letter to him, dated 17th of September, 1817, already communicated to you.

2ndly, Referring to a letter addressed to Count Montholon, dated 30th of August, 1816, that he will not receive any letter or communication respecting the situation of Napoleon Bonaparte from any of the foreign persons in attendance upon him, unless it is distinctly expressed in the same that it is written by his authority.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

(Signed) T. READE, Lieut.-Col. and Dep. Adjt.-General.

To Lieut.-General Count Bertrand, &c., &c., &c.

NAPOLEON

[CONTINUATION OF THE CORRESPONDENCE.]

Plantation House, 25th April, 1818.

Sir,—I am directed by the Governor to desire you will acquaint me for his information,

1st. How many times you have seen Napoleon Bonaparte since the 12th inst., and on what days?

2nd. If you have refused your medical aid to him on any occasion since that day?

The above questions being of a very simple nature, it is desired you will send an immediate answer to them by the bearer.

I am, Sir,

(Signed) G. GORREQUER, Major, Act. Mil. Sec.

B. O'Meara, Esq.

Longwood, 25th April, 1818.

Sir,—I have the honour to reply, in answer to your questions, that I did not see Napoleon Bonaparte on the 13th. On the 14th, at about mid-day, he sent for me to come to his room, but without his entering into medical subjects. I remained with him about a quarter of an hour, and the following conversation took place: I asked him how he was in health? and, according to my general custom, attempted to take his arm, in order to feel his pulse; he, however, drew back his hand, and, without answering my question, said, 'Well, Doctor, you are going to quit us; the world will scarcely conceive that *le Cachet d'attentin* at my physician has been put in practice. You have no longer the independence necessary to render your assistance useful to me. I am obliged to you for your care. Quit this abode of darkness and of crime as soon as you can. I will expire on a "*grabat*" gnawed (*rongé*) by disease, and without any assistance.' He then took me by the hand, which he squeezed, and appeared to experience a considerable emotion. I took advantage of this to inquire again how his health was. He replied by sending me away, saying, 'Farewell, Doctor, for ever.' Since that period he has not sent again for me, and I have not since spoken to him.

I have judged that the most explanatory answer I could give you would be a detail of the conversation which occurred, and which I took down on leaving the room, as it will put you in full possession of the state of his mind, which I conceived would be agreeable. If I have not judged right, I beg of you to suppress what I have related.

I have continued my usual medical duties with General Bertrand and Montholon's families, and with the domestics.

I remain, Sir, &c., &c., &c.,

BARRY E. O'MEARA, Surgeon.

To Major Gorrequer, Act. Mil. Sec.

Longwood, April 26, 1818. *Nine in the Evening.*

M. Le Gouverneur,—I have the honour to send you a letter which one of your officers has written me, and which I received half an hour ago. The Emperor will not take cognizance of it. You alone are charged with the execution of the restrictions which the Bill of the

11th of April authorizes your Government to impose, and he does not recognize the authority of delegating your power. I was going to send you my answer to your letter of the 21st, and which I received only on the 24th, at seven in the evening. I shall suspend it until you let me know whether you desire it. Meantime I cannot forbear informing you, that now, on the 26th, that is to say for fourteen days, the Emperor is without medical assistance.

These are the very words which the Prince addressed to Dr. O'Meara, when that physician came to take leave of him—'They (*on*) have had the baseness to make attempts on my physician. You have no longer the independence necessary to render your assistance useful.' If, therefore, it be true, as you say, that you do not wish to deprive him of his physician, restore to the latter his rights and his character, until the answer of your Government be received.

I have the honour to be, M. Le Gouverneur,
Your very humble and very obedient servant,
(Signed) The COUNT BERTRAND.

To Lieut.-General Sir Hudson Lowe.

Longwood, April 27, 1818. *Noon.*

M. Le Gouverneur,—I have the honour to request you to forward to Lord Liverpool the original packet hereto annexed—my letters of the 13th, 24th, and 26th of April, and the present of the 27th.

To avoid every ridiculous scene, it is needless for you to address any letter for the Emperor if it be not in the form accustomed during three years. The Prince will admit of no innovation, nor depart in anything from the *statu quo.*

I cannot prevent myself from informing you that the letters which I received at one in the morning I could not communicate till ten, the Emperor having suffered extremely during the night. Since this letter, Sir, is the last which I shall have to write to you respecting the affairs of the Emperor, however urgent circumstances may hereafter become, permit me to lead you to reflect for your interest, that of your children and your nation, on the opprobrium with which so many generations have covered the names of Maltravers and Gournay.

I have the honour to be, Monsieur Le Gouverneur,
Your very humble and very obedient servant,
(Signed) The COUNT BERTRAND.

To Lieut.-Gen. Sir Hudson Lowe, &c., &c., &c.

Plantation House, May 1, 1818.

Sir,—The Governor, who does not precisely understand the meaning of the insinuations attempted to be conveyed in the sixth and seventh paragraphs of your letter to him of the 19th of April, desires you will acquaint me, for his information, in what instances you were required, as you say, to act in a manner which you conceived dishonourable to you, as stated in the sixth paragraph; and what were the verbal insinuations you did not choose to comply with, as mentioned at the close of the 17th one?

The plain fact of the acts you state to have been required of you, and of the verbal insinuations you refused compliance with, being all that is required of you, the Governor expects your answer without delay ;—any circumstance upon which you may have before addressed him will be considered as irrelevant.

I am, Sir, &c., &c., &c.,

(Signed) G. GORREQUER, Major, Act. Mil. Sec.

B. O'Meara, Esq.

[*To be continued.*]

'Morning Chronicle,' August 26, 1818.

[CONTINUATION OF THE CORRESPONDENCE.]

Longwood, May 3, 1818.

Sir,—In answer to the questions contained in your letter of the 1st May, I beg leave to refer you to my letter of the 23rd December, 1817, which contains a few of the verbal insinuations which were repugnant to my feelings. That letter, which circumstances obliged me to write to the Governor, four months back, bears evidence to some of them, although I did not expect, in consequence of having written in such a manner, that such a visitation as the order of the 10th of April would have befallen me ; I must also beg leave to refer you further to some observations upon the letter written by Sir Thomas Reade by his Excellency's directions, which I will have the honour to forward.

I must also protest against the repeated prohibitions against making known to the Governor whatever may be relative to my defence, or any explanation which it may be necessary to give touching the unjust accusations to which I am a victim. Whether the Governor stands forth as my accuser, or has constituted himself my judge, in neither case can he impose upon me any restraint upon anything which I may have to say, or upon any matter which I may have to bring forward to repel the calumnies to which it is endeavoured to render me a victim.

I have had the felicity of being born in a free country where the laws alone dispose of individuals, no jury or court would impose upon me the unjust restrictions in my defence, or would suffer itself to be influenced either by conjecture, reports of spies or semi-proofs, three instruments of oppression, but powerless before juries instituted by the wisdom of the laws of England.

I beg leave to reiterate, Sir, my desire to be brought to a trial according to the Act of Parliament, and I protest, and always will protest against the arbitrary confinement to which I am subjected.

I think it is also my duty to make known to you, as it is not foreign to matters pertaining to my medical duty, also for the honour of the country, and also on account of my own responsibility, that from what I can learn, the state of Napoleon Bonaparte's health is worse, and to

suggest to you, that perhaps it will be found hereafter, this intimation has been dictated by the opinion of one who is zealously attached to his King and country.

I am, Sir, &c., &c., &c.,

(Signed) BARRY E. O'MEARA, Surgeon.

To Major Gorrequer, Act. Mil. Sec.

Plantation House, April 23, 1818.

Sir,—As a further instance of a disobedience of the Governor's orders has occurred on your part, in addressing to him instead of inclosing to me for his information a copy of your letter to Count Bertrand, as specifically directed in my letter of the 17th instant, and again referred to at the close of that of the 18th, he directs that you will in future, whenever necessity may render it requisite for you to communicate anything for his information with respect to yourself, address the Deputy Adjutant-General or me.

He has directed me further to say, that although he has directed Lieut.-Col. Sir Thomas Reade to answer your letter of the 12th instant, and me to remark upon the further letter intruded upon him on the 19th instant (before the answer to the former one was sent), confining these remarks, however, solely to those points on which you addressed him, he cannot suffer his time to be taken up by any prolonged correspondence on such matters, and therefore charges me to make known to you, that you are in future to confine yourself *solely* to those matters pertaining to your medical duty, upon which it may be indispensably necessary to apply for a decision from him.

I am directed further to convey to you his commands (although his disapprobation had been already most distinctly marked to you in the letter written by Sir Thomas Reade, on the 19th, of your making known any instructions you had received from the Governor, whether verbal or written, without his authority), that you are not on any grounds whatever to show to any of the foreign persons at Longwood any instructions you may have received, or may hereafter receive from him, or to make known any part of the contents of the same, without his authority, or to communicate with any of them on any subject of correspondence you may have had with the Governor, or may have with him, through the channels indicated; and you are forbidden at the same time to acquaint them that you are under any such prohibition from him, as the proclamation and your duty point out sufficiently this course of themselves.

The Governor has taken means to inform Napoleon Bonaparte of the decision he has transmitted to you through Sir Thomas Reade, and it is not necessary, therefore, you should confer with Napoleon Bonaparte himself, or any of his officers, on the subject of it.

I am, Sir, your obedient and humble servant,

(Signed) G. GORREQUER, Major, Act. Mil. Sec.

Barry O'Meara, Esq., Longwood.

His Majesty's Ship 'Bellerophon, Torbay, Aug. 7, 1815.

My Lord,—Application having been made to me yesterday by Count Bertrand, to accompany General Napoleon Bonaparte to St. Helena, in quality of Surgeon (as the surgeon who embarked with him in France is unwilling to proceed further), I beg to inform your Lordship that I am willing to accept that situation, provided it meets with your Lordship's approbation, and also on the following conditions, viz., that it shall be permitted me to resign the above situation should I not find it consonant to my wishes, on giving due notice of my intention thereof; that such time as I shall serve in that situation shall be allowed to count as so much time served on full pay in his Majesty's navy, or to be indemnified in some way for such loss of time, as surgeon on full pay, as it may occasion to me; that I am not to be considered in any wise depending upon, or to be subservient to or paid by the aforesaid Napoleon Bonaparte, but as a British officer employed by the British Government; and lastly, that I may be informed, as soon as circumstances will admit, of what salary I am to have, and in what manner and from whom, I am to receive it.

I have the honour to remain, my Lord, with the greatest respect,
Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,
BARRY E. O'MEARA, Surgeon, H.M. Ship *Bellerophon.*

To the Right Hon. Viscount Keith, G.C.B., Adm. of the Red,
Commander-in-Chief, &c., &c., &c.

EXTRACT FROM REAR-ADMIRAL SIR GEORGE COCKBURN'S INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE INFORMATION OF GENERAL BONAPARTE.

Of the persons who have been brought to England with General Bonaparte, he will be allowed to select (with the exception of Generals Savary and L'Allemand) three officers, who, together with *his surgeon*, will be permitted to accompany him to St. Helena; twelve domestics, including the servants of the officers, will also be allowed.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM SIR HUDSON LOWE, DATED 6TH OCTOBER, 1817, PLANTATION HOUSE.

I had already the honour to mention to you that Mr. Baxter, Deputy Inspector of Hospitals, Head of the Medical Establishment in this Island, was ready at all times, and *desirous* to see him; and I have to express my earnest hope that Mr. Baxter's opinion may be consulted. (Signed) HUDSON LOWE.

EXTRACT OF A MEMORANDUM FROM SIR HUDSON LOWE, DATED PLANTATION HOUSE, NOV. 28TH, 1817.

He therefore begs leave to propose that Mr. Baxter's visits may be admitted.

NAPOLEON

DECLARATION.

Longwood, April 25, 1818.

I declare, that since the month of October last, when it was decided by the Governor, Sir Hudson Lowe, that no more Bulletins should be asked from me without communicating them first to Napoleon, I have made none; and that I have, in all the visits I was obliged to make to him, at his house, to report, to wit, twice a week, explained the progress of the complaint, which, from the first day, gave rise to a belief that it was Hepatitis, as will appear was my opinion, by a reference to the bulletins of the 1st and 5th of October; an opinion rendered more probable by the frequency of the complaint in this island, and which has latterly been converted into a certainty. At first there were some symptoms indicative of the attack of the disease in an acute form, but these appearances were afterwards attributed to severe catarrh. I declare also, that, particularly on the 28th of November, 18th, 25th, and 27th of September, 1817; 9th and 16th of January, 25th of March, 3rd and 7th of April, 1818, I reported the symptoms of the complaint as having increased for the worse; and that on the 25th of March I declared to the Governor, that I considered the disease to be hepatitis not very far advanced; explaining to him that the progress of the complaint was occasionally very slow and insidious; but that if Napoleon B. was a soldier or a sailor, and that I was at liberty to treat him according to my opinion, I would put in practice, first, repeated and active purging, with exercise, especially on horseback (the first part of which plan, viz., the purgatives, had been put in execution for some time); and that, if these means did not subdue it, I would commence speedily a course of calomel, or some preparation of mercury. That I have constantly explained the progress of the disease, the symptoms of which have been at times better, at times worse, according to the state of the bowels, skin, and to the effect of the remedies taken. That I have constantly represented the pressing necessity which the patient had of taking exercise on horseback, and that on the 25th of March, when the Governor asked me 'Why he did not go out and ride on horseback?' I answered, 'I did not know the reasons which prevented him.' In consequence of the abusive language, violence and bad treatment which I experienced from the Governor, whenever I delivered an opinion or sentiment not consonant to his own, which necessitated me to come to a determination not to meddle in discussions foreign to medical subjects. I also certify that I never did ask to quit Longwood; but that, when it was signified to me by the Governor that he had some intention of imposing upon me the same restrictions as those inflicted upon the French prisoners, I declared to him that I would sooner resign than submit to such; that I also explained to him in July last, that I had been informed he had applied for my recall, which drew down upon me from him reproaches and abuse, which he took the advantages of his situation of superior officer to vent upon me.

(Signed) BARRY O'MEARA, Surgeon.

THE BULLETINS REFERRED TO.

Longwood, 1st of October, 1817.

Sir,—I have the honour to inform your Excellency, that this morning General Bonaparte complained of a dull pain in the right hypochondriac region, and a similar sensation in the right shoulder, neither of which were severe. There is a trifling acceleration of his pulse, the range of which is generally 60, viz. from that to 68. As his bowels are rather costive, it is possible that the sensation of pain in the side may be occasioned by that. Should it, however, continue or increase, there will be every reason to believe that he has experienced an attack of *chronic hepatitis*.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

(Signed) BARRY E. O'MEARA, Surgeon.

To his Excellency Lieutenant-General Sir Hudson Lowe, K.C.B., &c., &c., &c., Governor.

Longwood, October 5, 1817.

Sir,—I have the honour to inform your Excellency, that since the report of the 2nd of October, General Bonaparte has complained of a pull pain in the right side, accompanied with a sensation of heat in the same place, and occasionally a similar sense of pain in the right shoulder. A tumefaction is also evident in the sight and touch in the right side; but I have not yet been able to determine whether it proceeds from an enlargement of the liver, or is external to it. As he has not, since the last report, been entirely free from pain, it is most probable that the complaint is *chronic hepatitis*.

I have the honour, &c. &c.

BARRY E. O'MEARA, Surgeon.

To his Excellency Lieut.-Gen. Sir Hudson Lowe, K.C.B., &c., &c., &c., Governor.

[*To be continued.*]

'Morning Chronicle,' August 27, 1818.

[CONTINUATION OF THE CORRESPONDENCE.]

Plantation House, May 3, 1818.

Sir,—Referring to your letter to Count Bertrand, wherein you state in one part, that you are not to stir out of Longwood, and in a subsequent part, that you see it was the intention, by subjecting you to such restriction (which you are pleased to consider the same as those imposed upon the French prisoners), to oblige you to quit, I am directed by the Governor to convey to you his sentiments as follows:—

The mode of expression in the first instance, and the total omission

of all those exceptions, which constitute the chief variety between your situation and that of the French prisoners, particularly that where you are allowed to quit Longwood on asking the Governor's permission—the silence observed in your letter to Count Bertrand, on all points contained in the Governor's instructions appertaining to your medical duty—the substitution of any inference whatever of your own, in place of the instruction given before any explanation was sought from the authority which transmitted it to you—your immediate appeal to Napoleon Bonaparte and Count Bertrand, even before you addressed your naval superior—your preference of written communication over a verbal one to Count Bertrand, with whom you had every opportunity of verbally communicating—of a verbal to a written one to the Admiral, whose assent was required previous to your waiting upon him, in both of which cases a proclamation was to be broken through or an order disobeyed—your disobedience of the Governor's orders immediately on receiving them, and your openly declared disavowal of his authority when you went to wait upon your naval superior, are circumstances upon which he shall not make any further comment, than to say, that no purposed design to evince insubordination, to create the greatest possible embarrassment in the Governor's relations with the person under his custody—to mislead, to inflame and irritate, and to cover a double view of quitting a person whom you had pledged yourself not to quit, and at the same time to make the act appear that of the Governor, could have been well devised. The Governor knows not in what degree the inconveniences which your insubordinate, disrespectful, and extraordinary line of conduct may be remedied; but he shall nevertheless not neglect his duty in pointing out what he considers the conduct you ought to pursue.

He authorises you, in the first instance, to shew the instruction you have received, and to point out the too marked differences existing between its words and what you quote from it in your letter to Count Bertrand, as above stated.

He authorises you, at the same time, to controvert, upon the Governor's declaration, that there was any intention on his part to compel you either to resign or quit. He knew beforehand of your intention to resign, but it never entered into his mind that you could have been awaiting any order that you might deem objectionable from him, to base the tender of your resignation upon.

If it had not been from consideration of the state of Napoleon Bonaparte's health, it would have been the Governor's most bounden duty not to have awaited the form of any resignation from you, but to have removed you at once from a situation which he considered you ought no longer to be permitted to fill, as well from the unauthorised pledges you had entered into with a person situated as Napoleon Bonaparte is, so long concealed from the authority you were under (of which a new one appears in your letter to Count Bertrand), as your having rendered yourself a channel for presents, and bearer of private and unauthorised communications in regard to them; not to speak of the acts and line of proceeding touched upon in the second paragraph of this letter.

In not having removed you upon such manifest grounds of impropriety, he has carried his personal consideration for Napoleon Bonaparte to the utmost extent which humanity points out, and very far beyond what his public duty ought to permit.

He now desires me to conclude with saying, that if Napoleon Bonaparte does not, in his present situation, derive the full benefit of your medical advice, and does not have personal recourse to the same, it is your line of proceeding he shall consider and treat as the leading cause, it being entirely the result of your suffering yourself to be employed in matters not pertaining to your medical duty, in defiance of proclamation and the Governor's repeated directions to you, of your unlawful letter to Count Bertrand for Napoleon Bonaparte's information, and of your openly declared disavowal of the Governor's authority immediately after you had written it.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed) EDWARD WYNYARD, Lieut.-Col. Mil. Sec.

Barry O'Meara, Esq.

Longwood, May 14, 1818.

Sir,—According to the directions contained in your letter, bearing date the 3rd of May, I have communicated the orders contained in Sir Thos. Reade's letter of the 10th April to Count Bertrand.

In reply to some of the observations contained in your letter, I have to remark that the *French prisoners* can leave Longwood without asking *any* person's permission, and that during nearly three years which I have been here I have had no reference to make for judgment, or decision, to any naval officer, not even the Admiral, with respect to my duties as surgeon to Napoleon Bonaparte since the period when Sir George Cockburn gave up the charge of him. On the 12th, as soon as I received the orders of Sir Thos. Reade, I proceeded to the Admiral, not to take his orders, but to consult him and to crave his advice, as I would have done to my father, were he in St. Helena, in consequence of having, since I have been in the service, considered admirals in that light.

I am not in any way culpable or accountable from the inconveniences which may result from the extraordinary conduct which has been pursued with respect to me, as the order of the 10th of April was premeditated for a long time, and I gave notice that it would be followed by an immediate resignation.

My conscience would not permit me to tell Count Bertrand that the Governor had not any intention to remove me from my situation, or to say that I intended to give in my resignation, because I have already declared that assertion to be *untrue.*

I have entered into engagements with Napoleon Bonaparte, but with Napoleon Bonaparte as a private individual, and which I entered into with the consent of Captain Maitland (captain of the ship I belonged to) and Lord Keith, my then immediate superiors.

If Napoleon Bonaparte's health is altered for the worse, in consequence of the cessation of the performance of my medical functions about him, it is not my fault, but the fault of those who, in opposition to evidence, to my appointment, and to the restrictions of Government in 1815, having given him to understand that I was not his surgeon, but merely a medical officer of the navy, *permitted* to assist him.

I do not conceive that I have committed the smallest crime in having communicated to Count Bertrand the circumstance which obliged me to quit Longwood.

In like manner, having always considered myself as Napoleon

Bonaparte's surgeon, I do not conceive myself in any manner accountable in not having made use of any mystery with him, respecting my conduct, which might have weakened the confidence he had in me as a medical man, not knowing any bounds to set to that confidence, except such as my duty as an English subject, the interests and honour of my country, or obedience to the Act of Parliament prescribed.

I must repeat, that to all the verbal insinuations which I received, I answered by demanding written orders.

Any assertions that I have made engagements with the French of a nature requiring concealment, I declare to be a calumny, and, were it made by a private person and I in England, I would prosecute the author for defamation. If there are any accusations of such a nature to reproach me with, why has not his Excellency the Governor caused them to be communicated to me? I would, in a moment, have dissipated them. You assert that I have served as a distributor of presents. If you allude to what took place with the Rev. Mr. Boys, as having given umbrage to the Governor, why had it not been communicated to me until the 3rd of May, twenty-three days after the order of the 10th of April last? M. Ciprian, the maître-d'hôtel, died on the 23rd of February last. Messrs. Boys and Vernon attended his funeral, and, although he died in the Roman Catholic persuasion, buried his corpse in consecrated ground, and read the funeral service over it according to the rites of the Protestant Church. This conduct appeared liberal and noble, and General Montholon asked Mr. Boys in what manner he could manifest to the clergymen the satisfaction which their conduct had given; to which a reply was made, refusing any contribution for them, but observing that a donation for the poor would be acceptable. This decided Gen. Montholon to give to each of these gentlemen a Chinese snuff-box of trifling value, and 25*l.* to the poor. Some days after Mr. Boys, having breakfasted with General Montholon, received the 25*l.* for the poor, and the box; and a few days subsequent, departing for England, he sent the box to me, asking me to beg General Montholon to send it to him through the channel of the Governor, in order that he might be able, without any scruple, to shew it in England. When I received the letter and the box, Mr. Boys was gone, which obliged me to return the box, on the spot, to General Montholon, to whom I made known Mr. Boys' desire. This, Sir, is the history of my conduct; and I have reason to believe that the 25*l.* were deposited in the funds by Mr. Boys for the use of the poor.

There is no man whose actions, even praiseworthy, are not liable to be denigrated and perverted by the breath of calumny, which, however, is easily confounded amongst just and sagacious persons.

It appears, however, Sir, from your letter, that the order of the 10th of April was really a punishment inflicted upon me by the Governor, *without hearing me*, and without making known to me, until twenty-three days after, the *crime* which had given such umbrage to him. I must beg leave merely to observe, that such conduct is not conformable either to the English laws or customs.

I remain, Sir, &c., &c., &c.,

BARRY O'MEARA, Surgeon.

To Col. Wynyard, Military Secretary.

[*To be continued.*]

'Morning Chronicle,' August 28, 1818.

[CONTINUATION OF THE CORRESPONDENCE.]

Longwood, May 5, 1818.

Sir,—His Excellency the Governor having prohibited any writing direct to him by a letter of Major Gorrequer, dated the 23rd of April, I beg of you to lay before him the following observations upon the letter which you wrote by his directions on the 19th of April last.

I persist in my assertion, that at the commencement of June last, and antecedent and subsequent to it, his Excellency the Governor made known to me intentions of subjecting me to the same restrictions as the French, saying, 'that since I was Napoleon Bonaparte's surgeon, and forming part of his family, I ought to be subjected to the same restrictions.' To which I answered, that our Government had granted to Napoleon the privilege of taking with him to St. Helena three of his officers, twelve servants, and *his* surgeon, and that I was pointed out by Count Bertrand to replace the French surgeon, but that, not being willing to relinquish my character as a British officer, I had made conditions that I should be placed on the list as a surgeon on full pay, and that I should be paid by the English Government, and consequently should not ever be considered as out of the protection of the laws of my country. Lord Keith, the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, and the Government, had it in their power to refuse a compliance with these stipulations, but in that case I would not have accepted the employment, and would have preferred remaining upon half-pay, after the paying off of the *Bellerophon*, to being employed as a surgeon in an equivocal situation, which might lead to a supposition that I had for a moment renounced the character and other titles appertaining unto a British officer. As a proof of this, I sent to his Excellency my letter to Lord Keith.

It is not as a naval surgeon that I am placed about Napoleon's person, who might just as well have chosen one from amongst the army surgeons, or amongst the private and civil surgeons or physicians practising in London or Edinburgh, because the decision of our Government was, that he should take with him his surgeon, and Lord Keith proposed to send a vessel to France expressly for the purpose of bringing him one; and, before authorising me to accept of Count Bertrand's proposal, his Lordship insisted that Count Bertrand should write an official letter to him, in which he made known that Napoleon demanded me as his surgeon, in place of the French surgeon.

If the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty caused me to be borne as supernumerary surgeon of the *Northumberland*, *Newcastle*, and *Conqueror*, it was on account of my own demand to be kept upon the list of surgeons on full pay, and was just the same as if their Lordships had placed me on the books of the flagship at the Nore, Portsmouth, or Plymouth (my pay is furnished to me by order of the Admiralty, as surgeon to Napoleon Bonaparte), but this does not confer any right or authority upon the officers of the *Conqueror*, or the Admiralty over me personally; indeed, the Admiral signified as much to me, and his

Excellency the Governor himself has repeatedly told me the same: and moreover, prohibited my communicating to the Admiral anything relative to Longwood. If the captain of the ship, upon the books of which I am borne, or even the Admiral, has no right to give me any orders in the extraordinary mission with which I am entrusted, I am not subordinate to any other man than the Governor, not in a military point of view, or as a naval officer, but by a civil title, and as surgeon to Napoleon Bonaparte, with the charge of whom he has been entrusted and, as such, I have never failed in executing whatever he imposed upon me, except inasmuch as I found it contrary to my honour. I know well, Sir, that military obedience is passive, and does not admit of any hesitation or objection; but it is not so with civil obedience, and still less so in a person charged with an employment of so delicate a nature as I am. I am a poor man, and ten years' service in the navy has not enriched me, and I stand in need of my situation in order to gain a livelihood, but I am ready to sacrifice it a thousand times over sooner than allow a stain to be, directly or indirectly, cast upon my character.

For the due performance of my medical functions until now, I have considered myself as not having any explanation to render, except to Napoleon himself. He has made no complaint against the manner in which I have fulfilled them. Indeed, on the contrary, I have frequently been applauded by him as well as by other patients in his suite for the zeal with which I administered my professional assistance.

When I accepted the situation, I made known to Count Bertrand that I would not willingly quit Napoleon so long as he remained in the unfortunate situation in which he was placed, and in the presence of Captain Maitland I made an open engagement to attend Napoleon and the officers of his suite, independent of all hatred or national prejudice, or any influence whatever in the administration of my professional assistance as a medical man, and that I would employ as much zeal, attention, and fidelity towards them as could be expected from me by one of my own countrymen. I deny the intentions which you attribute to me of desiring to quit Longwood, and assert it to be unfounded. You declare that it was known in England, and make a supposition that I was the person who made such intention known, which supposition you argue upon as being correct; I am ready to remain at Longwood provided (as I said in my letter of the 19th of April) I am allowed to exercise my vocation as before the 10th of April, and with the same independence. From the first day of his Excellency's arrival he appeared desirous of sending me away, although I had never given him cause to do so, probably because I belonged to the navy, and that having been demanded by Napoleon I had not been appointed by his Excellency himself. Upon this occasion I had often opportunities of making known what a wide difference Napoleon made between a surgeon who had been chosen by himself and any surgeon belonging to the army, let him be who he would, and that those who imagined if the person in whom he had confidence was removed he would bestow it upon another, knew his character but very badly.

You say, Sir, that if I was on board a man of war I would be obliged to obey every order I received from the captain. I grant this, and that if I was ordered to cook the victuals of the sick I would comply with it, because the design of this would be for the good of his

Majesty's service and for the honour of his flag, and because military obedience does not admit of any deliberation; but I have always considered that St. Helena is not a man of war, that the Governor is not the captain, and that I am not the surgeon of the crew; but that St. Helena is a Government of one of our possessions, that Sir Hudson Lowe is the Governor, and commands by virtue of a civil title, that I form one of Napoleon's suite, and am attached to his person with the functions of surgeon.

I do not reply to the different suppositions you have made, otherwise than by declaring them calumnies. I have made with Napoleon the pact which I mentioned above, and such as exist between all men of honour, and in every society of gentlemen. Your insinuations do not inspire me with the smallest fear. With a pure conscience, and born an Englishman, nothing is to be dreaded from such engines of tyranny, nor from half or quarter proofs. A jury or a Court-martial is the privilege of every Englishman, and is his guarantee against every act of arbitrary power—is the guarantee of the weak and the simple against the powerful; and if the Government accepts my resignation, rather than allow me to perform my avocations agreeable to the engagement which I made in August, 1815, I have too much confidence in the Lords of the Admiralty to fear that they will not see justice done to me; and that they will not order me (according to my right) to be brought before them. At any rate, not being employed in the squadron, but having a particular mission, that mission finished, no person can dispose of me.

In recapitulation, if the detention which I have been made to suffer, at Longwood, is to subject me to the same restrictions as the French, my right as an Englishman, which I have always preserved, protects me from it. If it is a regulation for the exercise of my functions as surgeon, I have given no cause for complaint. I am accountable to the patient to whom I am attached for the performance of them. If it is a punishment, my crime ought to be made known to me. I should be heard, in order to answer it; and judgment should have been pronounced upon it ere now. But the Governor wished to dispose of my situation. By letters, written from London more than 12 months back, I was informed that his Excellency had demanded my being replaced; and in July, 1817, I expressed my surprise to himself that he had done so, which produced an explanation that brought down upon me a tolerable portion of abuse. I was also informed that the Government did not consent to it. If this is correct, it is for him to judge whether the conduct which has been put in practice towards me, and which obliges me by force, and not by consent, to give in my resignation, is conformable to the respect due to his intentions. Since June last, I foresaw that such were his Excellency's views, and communicated to the Admiral's secretary the unpleasant situation in which I was placed, and the apprehensions I was under.

As Napoleon has not seen me since the 14th of April last, and I fear that some dangerous effects may occur from it, I beg leave to propose putting matters upon the footing they formerly were until the arrival of an answer from England. I am inclined to think, that if Napoleon was informed that the Governor considered me as his surgeon, as holding the place of a French surgeon, not being subject to military discipline, but to civil obedience, that things were put upon the footing

they were since my arrival, at least until the receipt of an answer fro Government, that he would renew the confidence which he formerly manifested. The actual state of matters now is appalling, and will probably produce a most unpleasant sensation both in England and Europe. The Governor may, perhaps, reflect upon the terrible responsibility which weighs upon him, if (as is possible, and even very probable) Napoleon, deprived of assistance, was to die before the expiration of the five or six months which are required to obtain an answer from England.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,
BARRY E. O'MEARA, Surgeon.

To Lieut.-Col. Sir Thos. Reade, C.B., Adjutant-General, &c., &c., &c.

[*To be continued.*]

'Morning Chronicle,' August 31, 1818.

[CONCLUSION OF THE CORRESPONDENCE.]

St. Helena, May 7, 1818.

Sir,—I am directed by Lieutenant-General Sir Hudson Lowe to acquaint you, that having taken into consideration the inconvenience which might possibly arise, if Napoleon Bonaparte persevered in the unforeseen and extraordinary resolution it is said by you and others he has taken, of not having recourse to your medical advice, though living under the same roof with him, and attending other persons of his family, in consequence of the unauthorized communication you addressed to Count Bertrand on the 12th of April, he will dispense with the observance of the rules contained in the instruction transmitted to you by me, dated the 10th of the same month, from which the inferences contained in your letter to Count Bertrand, so purposely calculated, as it appears, to mislead and embarrass, were drawn.

You will, therefore, be permitted to continue the exercise of your medical duties in the same manner as you have hitherto performed them, until the instructions of Government may be received respecting you; continuing to be considered as you always have been, pursuant to your own original stipulation, an officer employed and paid by the British Government, and subject consequently to the Governor's authority and control in every point that regards your communication with Napoleon Bonaparte, or the persons detained under his custody as prisoners of war, on whom you are attending, except in what relates to the plain and simple exercise of your medical functions towards them; being not permitted to act for or to be employed by them, or to act of yourself, or through others, in any matter whatso-

ever that regards them, in any other capacity, without a special authority from the Governor to that effect.

If, however, an occasion should arise for calling in the aid of any other medical person unknown to the Governor (except in case of some sudden accident), in consequence of your absence (which it will be proper to provide against, by acquainting the orderly officer where you are to be found when you do quit Longwood); or that you should break through or attempt to elude or evade any of the regulations established on this island;—if by word or deed you are found to be in any case acting in opposition to the same, the Governor will feel himself called upon to take such measures as the circumstances of your proceeding may appear to render it necessary for him to employ, in order to enforce a due observance of the several regulations established.

To obviate any step of such nature with respect to you, the Governor desires your careful perusal of the several proclamations which have been published in this island (to which you have been so frequently referred both by letter and verbally), an exact copy of which you will find at the Town Mayor's Office, and may write out from the same; as also of those parts of my letter of the 19th of January last, which refer to the sole case in which you are supposed to have a partial exemption from their most strict observance, viz., 'That you had not his authority for communicating with Napoleon Bonaparte or the persons of his family, on any other subject than your medical duties; that he did not order you not to reply on other points, but, where you did so, the responsibility must rest upon yourself, *referring you to the proclamations in all other cases.*'

He desires also the recurrence of your particular attention to the letter directed to be written to you by Lieut.-Colonel Wynyard, on the 3rd instant, in referring to the leading points in which you have acted counter to the above, and to other points of instruction conveyed to you, as well as to the general rules contained in the proclamations.

He further directs me to remind you of the injunctions contained in a letter transmitted to you, proceeding from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, against publishing any information that may be obtained by being officially employed in this island; and to say that, viewing the peculiar delicacy of your situation, commented upon by yourself with so much stress in your letter to the Governor of the 6th of August, 1816, and taking into consideration the pledges into which you have entered with Napoleon Bonaparte, of not repeating anything which may pass in conversation between him and you (the sole point of what may tend to his escape excepted), and that you can only repeat, unless by a breach of private honour, what it is his desire or intention, or that of his followers, you should repeat; and the Governor not choosing to trust to the discretion of persons situated as they are, in such point, or to yours, he shall regard the repetition in any way whatsoever, whether on the island itself or elsewhere, of any information you may have obtained, or may obtain, or of any conversation you may have had or may have at Longwood, except where you have had the sanction of the Governor's authority for it, as a breach in principle of their Lordships' instructions, and of his orders, and will report your conduct or act upon it accordingly.

In conclusion, *the above points being all fully understood*, it is the Governor's desire not to oppose in any way what appears to be the

wish of Napoleon Bonaparte, that you should be considered whilst you remain in this island, or until the orders of Government may be received respecting you, as a surgeon attached solely to his person and family, in fact, as his domestic surgeon, and in the exercise of your duty as such you will not be obliged to follow the advice or opinion of any medical or other person whatever, but be allowed to act entirely upon your own judgment, where other medical advice is not called for, only being prepared to give such information as may be required from you, touching the state of health of Napoleon Bonaparte, through such channels, professional or otherwise, as the Governor may wish to obtain.

You will please to acknowledge the receipt of this letter by the bearer. I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed) T. READE, Lt.-Col., D. A. G.

Barry O'Meara, Esq., Longwood.

'Morning Chronicle,' October 13, 1818.

BONAPARTE.

The following is a translation of the Observations of Bonaparte (with the exception of two or three words) upon the Letters of Lord Bathurst, which we gave yesterday in the original French. We insert also again the Letters of Lord Bathurst, in order that Napoleon's commentary upon them may be more distinctly understood.

LETTRES DE LORD BATHURST.

EXTRACT—H. LOWE.

Downing-street, Jan. 1, 1818.

Sir,—I have received and forwarded to the Earl of Liverpool the sealed packet enclosed in your despatch, which professes to contain the observations of General Bonaparte upon certain extracts from a report which appeared in *The Morning Chronicle*, of a speech which I had occasion to deliver in the House of Lords upon the subject of his treatment at St. Helena.

Although Count Bertrand's conduct gave you fair reason to infer that the packet contained nothing upon which it could be necessary to require your observations or

TRANSLATION.

OBSERVATIONS APPROVED BY NAPOLEON.

The storeship, the *Barkworth*, anchored in the roads of St. Helena on the 5th of May, and on the 9th ditto Sir Hudson Lowe sent to Count Bertrand, without any accompanying remark, the annexed extracts from Lord Bathurst's correspondence.

On the 7th of October, 1817, Count Bertrand sent to Sir Hudson Lowe a sealed packet, addressed to Lord Liverpool. It contained observations made upon

reply, and thereby induced you so far to deviate from your instructions as to transmit it unopened, yet, as it is found, on perusal, to contain a general complaint of 'your treatment of General Bonaparte, not only from the time of your arrival at St. Helena, to the latest period to which anything I said could have referred, but continued by a note at the close of it, up to the very day on which it was delivered to you;' I consider it my duty, previous to my laying it before the Prince Regent, to transmit to you a copy by the first opportunity.

Had the General delivered the packet to you unsealed, as the regulations (he knew) required, for the purpose of being transmitted home, I should by this time most probably have been enabled to lay the charges and your answer fully before the Prince Regent. The delay which must now take place has been altogether occasioned by the disingenuous conduct which has been practised upon you; and although it is difficult to understand what advantage General Bonaparte could have expected to derive from it, if his object had been the fair investigation of his case, it will, I am sure, in the event of any other sealed letters being sent to you for transmission, prove to you the expediency of not permitting any feeling of delicacy to interfere with the strict execution of your instructions.

I have the honour, &c.,
(Signed) BATHURST.

Lord Bathurst's speech, delivered in Parliament on the 18th of March, 1817. This packet was sent sealed up, because the Emperor Napoleon had added these words—'I approve these observations; I desire they may be laid before the eyes of the Sovereign and the people of England.' Had Sir Hudson Lowe insisted upon its being opened, Count Bertrand would have broken the seal in his presence, and put it into his hands open (Sir Hudson Lowe did make himself acquainted with the contents of the packet; of that there are proofs). There was no occasion for these observations to be communicated to Sir Hudson Lowe since they were in reply to a public speech delivered by the Minister in the month of March, 1817. The voluminous compositions of insults, calumnies, and abuse, invented against the French at Longwood, and despatched by every mail going from St. Helena to London, are not imparted to the French, until the English Government have deliberated upon them. A charge made by one of the parties concerned, is an unjust act and null of itself. If, then, these observations were not communicated to the Prince Regent, so much the worse for the British Government, for the English nation, for her Constitution, so much boasted of, and now so much despised; and for the liberties of her people; for, certainly, such an occurrence could not have happened in Russia, nor in Austria, nor even in Constantinople!

It would be right that the complaints of the French should be sent unsealed to Sir Hudson Lowe if the charges of Sir Hudson Lowe were communicated before their departure from St. Helena to one of the French officers, so that the calumnies, falsehoods, and untruths might be pointed out.

EXTRACT—H. LOWE.

Colonial Office, Downing-street, Jan. 1, 1818.

Sir,—I have received and laid before the Prince Regent your despatch, No. 89, in which you transmit various communications which have passed between yourself and Count Bertrand, relative to the restrictions imposed upon General Bonaparte and the possibility of admitting any further relaxation.

From a review of the papers transmitted by you, it appears, that the complaints advanced by General Bonaparte against the restrictions imposed upon him, may be comprehended under two heads :—

1st. He complains, that the contracted extent of the limits within which he may take exercise, unaccompanied by a British officer, and the posting of sentinels round Longwood at sunset, debar him from taking exercise ; and,

2ndly, That his intercourse with the inhabitants is subject to your intervention ; and his correspondence with them subject to your inspection.

As Count Bertrand has admitted that the first head of objection has been obviated by your recent extension of his former limits for exercise, and by the other arrangements which you considered yourself authorised to adopt, it is not necessary that I should advert particularly to that part of the discussion, further than to express my approbation of the relaxation in this particular, to which you have, out of regard to the health of General Bonaparte, been induced to accede.

Considering it, however, not improbable, that (notwithstanding the acquiescence of Count Bertrand in the existing arrangement with respect to the sentries) the

At length after two years then it is known in London, that the time for walking in this country in the summer is from five to seven o'clock in the evening. Therefore, the subject of posting the sentinels at six o'clock in the evening is resumed. Nevertheless it is now 30 days since the letter was communicated at Longwood, and still are the sentries posted at six o'clock. Sir Hudson Lowe, without making any mention of the matter, gave a written order to the Corps de Garde to allow the French to pass till nine o'clock in the evening, and verbally he daily gave orders for them not to be allowed to pass after six o'clock in the evening. Sir Hudson Lowe

posting of them at sunset may again be brought forward as a cause of complaint, I deem it advisable to acquaint you by this opportunity, that the utmost degree of indulgence which can be consented to would be to defer posting them till nine o'clock during the heat of the summer months, and that only under the condition that General Bonaparte should at that hour be seen by the officer at Longwood, with a view of insuring his being in the house at the time when the guards are stationed round it.

The second head of complaint, viz., the restriction imposed upon his intercourse and correspondence with the inhabitants, is one upon which there can be but little prospect of satisfying all the pretensions advanced by Count Bertrand. It cannot escape your observation, that these demands cannot be represented as interfering in any way with his taking exercise; his declaration that he would not take any, unless they were conceded, was an attempt to abuse the interest you had taken in the preservation of his health. With respect to correspondence, I confess I see no practicable alternative, but that of adhering to the regulations already in force, or admitting an unrestrained communication between General Bonaparte and the inhabitants, on all subjects and for all purposes; a permission to send and receive sealed letters, whether under colour of private business, or under any other pretence, is incompatible with the situation of a prisoner of war, and is liable to the greatest objections, as such a relaxation of the existing rules would in effect be to abandon one of the best securities against a successful attempt at escape. You will, therefore, on this point, still goes on as before, consequently he must have confidential instructions of a contrary tendency to those which are published!!

What! a prisoner of war cantoned in a town of England, in France, in Russia, in Austria, not allowed to write at his convenience to his banker, to his friend, to his wife residing in the town where he is cantoned, without having his letters examined by the Governor of the Province? This is not the law of nations, but Lord Bathurst's law, who is alike a stranger to the rules of decent treatment and military habits. It is false that that could have influence as to escape; but, if one can converse with the inhabitants without witnesses, there can be no danger in writing to them. The object of this measure is contrary to that which existed in 1815, and during the first half-year of 1816, and is intended to vex and annoy in a thousand unworthy and low ways. Sir Hudson Lowe is very fond of dirty work, and to examine the foul

adhere to the instructions under which you have hitherto acted.

With respect to intercourse with the inhabitants, I see no material objection to the placing it upon the footing recently suggested by Count Bertrand, as it is one which he represents would be more consonant to General Bonaparte's wishes; the Count's proposition is, that a list of a given number of persons resident in the island should be made out, who shall be at once admitted to Longwood on the General's own invitation, without a previous application being made to your Excellency on each invitation. You will, therefore, consider yourself at liberty to accede to the suggestion of Count Bertrand, and you will for the purpose desire him to present to you for your approbation a list of persons, not exceeding fifty in number, resident in the island, who may be admitted to Longwood at seasonable hours, without any other pass than the invitation of General Bonaparte; it being understood that they are on such occasions to deliver in the invitation as a voucher, with their names, at the barrier. In giving your approbation to the list, you will, as far as it is consistent with your duty, consult the wishes of General Bonaparte; but you will let it be clearly understood, that you reserve to yourself a discretionary power of erasing from the list, at any time, any of those individuals, to whom you may have found it inexpedient to continue such extraordinary facility of access, and you will take especial care that a report be always made to you by the orderly officer, of the several persons admitted to Longwood upon General Bonaparte's invitation.

With respect to the visits of linen of Longwood is to him an important occupation.

Fifty of the principal inhabitants of the island and of the army may frequently communicate with Longwood; that removes all the difficulties with respect to the passes. But now, this second of June, a month since, not only has this regulation not been executed, but Sir Hudson Lowe, in defiance of it, has had the annexed proclamation * posted up. The Colonel of the 66th was ordered to forbid such of his officers as were in the habit of conversing with Countess Bertrand, whenever they happened to meet her on the high roads, from continuing such habit, and to avoid her; in consequence of this order, several persons have lately turned out of the road, all manifesting much indignation at such infamous behaviour. The Emperor left his chamber four times during the month of April, to pass half an hour under a small tree, thirty toises from his house. Sir Hudson Lowe, in the month of May, directed a gardener, a soldier of the 66th, and a serjeant, the overseer of the workmen, to follow him at some distance, and not to lose sight of him, whenever he went into his garden, and thereby obliged him to discontinue this slight exercise. The gardener and the overseer of the workmen, instead of attending to their duties, openly exercise the functions of soldiers of the Police, and stop individuals under the very windows of Longwood. Such has been the effect of the arrival of Lord Bathurst's despatches, that whilst they appear to authorise an association with fifty persons, and more free communication with them, Sir Hudson Lowe comes and behaves doubly ill. He must therefore be warranted in his in-

* For the proclamation see yesterday's *Chronicle*.

strangers who may arrive at St. Helena, General Bonaparte has not expressed much solicitude for a change in the existing regulations; his reluctance to gratify the idle curiosity of strangers is a natural feeling to which every attention should be shewn; and it is satisfactory to know, that under the existing regulations, the General is protected from all rude intrusions of that description; as no stranger, although he has received your Excellency's permission, can be admitted at Longwood unless he has received that of the General also. I am aware that in your giving permission you have shewn great delicacy; but, after what has been again stated on this subject, you will, I am sure, be inclined to be still more select, confining the permission to those whose situation, character, or acquirements are such as to render it probable that General Bonaparte might take an interest in their conversation.

It only remains for me to desire, that you will take a proper opportunity of making known to General Bonaparte the final decision upon the several points transmitted home for consideration.

famous conduct by instructions contrary to the Patent ones!

This is all a mockery. Napoleon was desirous of receiving the visits of the Austrian and Russian officers, who are in this country, the Baroness Sturmer, and the strangers who put in here, as he was accustomed to do in 1815 and 1816, but in 1817 and 1818, he declared to prefer to decline the visits of everybody, rather than submit to the absurd and degrading formalities framed by Sir Hudson Lowe, and especially the visits of such individuals as that officer thought proper to send, namely, such as were blinded by the false prejudices they entertained against the French. This mockery under such circumstances is truly dastardly.

Lord Bathurst is very badly informed of what passes in the country, and for this simple reason—his knowledge is derived only from the correspondence of a faithless agent, a prey to passion, and a declared enemy bursting with malice. The conversations which that officer reports are a mere tissue of lies. The precaution of having his recitals attested by one of his confidants proves nothing, and merely demonstrates his cunning. There are a hundred examples of the false turn which that officer gives to everything. The following is one instance: On the 2nd February, four months after he had read the observations upon Lord Bathurst's speech, he, uncalled for, sent to Count Bertrand the recital of a conversation which he had had, he said, in May, 1816, with Napoleon, respecting the building of a house. This recital

is replete with falsehood; it is all an invention; it is a piece of effrontery without example, the object of which was to be enabled to say, that this false conversation, which formed one of the bases of Lord Bathurst's speech, had been laid before Count Bertrand. Mr. Ellis was presented to the Emperor Napoleon in July, 1817; he neither saw his bedroom, nor the inside of the house. The conversation never touched upon any of the disputed points at St. Helena. Count Montholon had no conversation with him upon any matter relating to the establishment at Longwood; and, notwithstanding, Mr. Ellis, in a work upon China, has thought proper to erect himself as a judge upon all these points, as if he had made an inquiry from both parties on the spot into all the points in dispute; he has thereby done no honour to his character—he has betrayed his own conscience for the sake of pleasing the Ministers. All that he says in the four or five paragraphs upon the subject is a fabrication, and has not been written by his pen.

I shall be sincerely happy if the relaxations which you have already made, and which you are hereby authorised to make, should in any degree tend to reconcile General Bonaparte to the situation in which he is placed, and induce him to adopt a course of life more suited to his comfort and his health; but should he, as Count Bertrand has declared that it is his purpose to do, decline taking necessary exercise within the limits which he now admits to be adequate, unless the restriction upon his correspondence is removed, his Majesty's Government will only have to regret, that the attempt made to diminish the privations to which he is necessarily

If Napoleon had not gone abroad for the 24 months that Sir Hudson Lowe has been in the country, it is because it has been impossible for him so to do, without exposing himself to become the victim of the criminal views meditated by that officer. Insulted by the sentinels, that might have provoked scenes which would have rejoiced the libellers of London, unless the result had been tragical. Sir Hudson Lowe had no right to impose restrictions, nor to alter those which existed when he arrived here. The well-known evil disposition of that officer, if he had the right of making restrictions, which the Bill only concedes to the British Government, proves

subjected, should be frustrated by his own determination to impose upon himself restraints much more severe than any against which he has most vehemently remonstrated.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

(Signed) BATHURST.

that he would gratify himself every day with fresh insults, with making fresh restrictions, with inventing conversations, and suborning false witnesses. Napoleon has been compelled to shut himself up within the walls of his house, to avoid and escape the abuses of authority committed by this bad man. If the object of those who sent Napoleon to this country, the most frightful and most unhealthy in the whole world, were doubtful, the selection of Sir Hudson Lowe, continuing him here for three years in the exercise of his functions, although an hundred English officers, who have been in this country, ought and could have informed the Government of his odious conduct, puts all doubt upon the case out of the question.

[Proclamation above referred to is here given as it appeared in *The Morning Chronicle* for October 12, 1818.]

PROCLAMATION.

Whereas, it has been ascertained, that a present had been delivered to an inhabitant of this island, in the name, or on the part of one of the Foreign Persons under detention at Longwood; which present was soon afterwards returned, in consequence of the person to whom it had been delivered, becoming sensible that his acceptance of it, unless with the Governor's knowledge and authority, would have been a breach of the Proclamations in force. The Governor, nevertheless, deems it expedient in enforcement of the abovesaid Proclamations (with reference also to the general injunction contained in the warrant, dated 16th April, 1816), to give public notice, and public notice is hereby given to all officers, inhabitants, and other persons whatsoever, residing on, or resorting to this island, that they not only are interdicted (as by the Proclamation of 17th October, 1815) from holding any correspondence or communication with the foreign persons under detention on it, except only such as may be regularly authorized by him, and (as further, by public notice of the 11th May, and Proclamation of 28th June, 1816) from receiving, delivering or rendering themselves the channel for the conveyance of any communication whatsoever, from or to the said persons, without his express authorization; but where any unauthorized communication shall have been, or may be conveyed, or attempted to be conveyed, it behoves all those who are acquainted with it, to give the Governor immediate information of the same (or

the nearest civil or military authority, should the case so require), in order that the necessary steps may be taken thereupon, under pain of being considered otherwise as privy to the same, and held answerable accordingly.

Given at the Castle, James's Town, this 16th day of May, 1818,

HUDSON LOWE, Lieut.-General, Governor and Commander-in-Chief.

By his Excellency's command,
G. GORREQUER, Act. Mily. Sec.

By Order of the Governor and Council,
T. H. BROOKE, Secretary to Government.

'Morning Chronicle,' October 13, 1818.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE 'MORNING CHRONICLE.'

Sir,—There appeared in your journal of this day some observations which you say are General Bonaparte's, on Lord Bathurst's letter to Sir H. Lowe, in which he asks, 'would any prisoner of war in England, in France, in Russia, in Austria, or in Prussia, be prevented from corresponding with his banker, with his friends, or his mistress, without previously submitting his letters to persons who were to inspect them?'

General Bonaparte, it would appear from these questions, forgets his own acts, when he was at the head of the Government of France; if he did not, he as well as every Englishman detained in France during the late war, knows that the prisoners of war in the various *dépôts* were obliged to send their letters, addressed to their friends in England, open to the Military Commandant of the places where they were confined, who sent them to the Minister of Marine at Paris, and by him forwarded to the Minister of Police, who, after having them read or translated, returned them to the Minister of Marine, and were then, and not till then, sent off to England. But, as General Bonaparte speaks of the treatment of prisoners of war in the various European States, I will ask him if any Government but his, and that of Algiers, would have made women and children prisoners of war? That he did so, thousands of persons can testify. I can adduce two instances;—when I left France in 1809, Fouché, then Minister of Police, gave me a passport for myself and family to embark at Dunkirk for the United States of America, consequently I could take as many young persons as I thought proper, as they might be considered part of my family. A Miss Masterson, an Irish young lady, whose father had been in the Irish Brigade, was refused a passport to come to England; she knew I

was going home, she applied to me, and I permitted her to join me at Dunkirk, and embark with me as one of my family. When I passed through St. Omers, on my way to Dunkirk, I brought away with me Miss Pemberton, daughter of Dr. Pemberton, of George's-street, Hanover. This young lady was sent to a boarding school at St. Omers during the peace of Amiens, when she was about nine years old. Various applications were made during the war to obtain passports for her to leave France, but always refused. The answer was '*that she was a prisoner of war!!!*' A child of 10 years old a prisoner of war!!! Now that Bonaparte is himself a prisoner and unfortunate, I should be sorry to say anything harsh of him, but really England is the last country that he should look to for commiseration, as it is well known that prisoners of war of all nations were better treated by him than the English were—as his hostility was even extended, as I have already observed, to women and children, nay, even to sick persons. Mr. Parry, one of the former proprietors of *The Courier*, died at Verdun, in 1805, as a *détenu* for want of medical advice, he frequently, but in vain, applied for a passport to come to Paris to consult physicians. Therefore, I think, Bonaparte should endeavour to get the *Austrian Observer*, published in the dominions of his father-in-law, the proprietor of which is the *respectable* Prince Metternich, who promoted his marriage with Maria Louisa, to insert all his *Jeremiades*.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Yours, &c.,

October 12. LEWIS GOLDSMITH.

'Morning Chronicle,' October 17, 1818.

The alleged interposition of Russia for obtaining a mitigation of Bonaparte's treatment seems to have thrown *The Courier* into no slight degree of alarm, and a pretty strong intimation is given that, even if it were possible that Russia and Austria should make such a solicitation, it would be met by a flat refusal. We have no doubt that the petty vexations to which, by universal consent, he has been incessantly exposed during the rule of the present Governor have created a very unfavourable impression against our Government on the Continent; but still we think *The Courier* will be quit for his alarm. With affected innocence *The Courier* tells us, 'we have yet to learn what pestiferous qualities the climate possesses for Bonaparte more than for the other inhabitants of St. Helena;' of course he is not aware of the different effects of a tropical climate on a native and on Europeans; nor that diseases of the liver are usually fatal to the latter, if they do not remove to a colder climate.

'Morning Chronicle,' October 29, 1818.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE 'MORNING CHRONICLE.'

Sir,—As your paper seems exclusively to have had authentic information respecting the proceedings adopted at St. Helena, and sanctioned by our Government, I beg you will do me the favour to insert the inclosed letter from General Bertrand to Count Las Casas.

It is painful to me to make public any relation likely to reflect disgrace on the English nation, but, as a deaf ear seems so studiously turned to the just complaints made of the base and iniquitous measures pursued against a fallen enemy, I feel it a justice due to the country to exhibit to public notice the disgraceful conduct pursued by Sir Hudson Lowe, in the hope that public indignation will become so manifest against such arbitrary, ungenerous, and unrequired oppression, as that Ministers will be compelled to remove the heavy load of disgrace from longer tainting the character of the British nation.

I send you the original letter for your personal assurance of its authenticity; for it is truly lamentable that the English people at large should be so unceremoniously execrated as they are on the Continent for the conduct of Sir H. Lowe, and the few who support him. I send you the original for your satisfaction as to its authenticity.

London, Oct. 28, 1818. J. C.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

Longwood, August 16th, 1818.

My dear Las Casas,—On the 7th of June I received the letter you did me the honour to write to me on the 15th of January last. Since then I received, on the 13th instant, those of the 15th of February, 15th of March, and 15th of April, which I have communicated. They have induced the Emperor to direct me to write to you. Four months ago I received a case of books and pamphlets, addressed to me by Mr. Goulburn; and, since then, a very obliging offer to send out a picture which was found in the chamber at St. Cloud, relating to the baptism of young Napoleon. Mr. Henry Goulburn was so kind as to bate down the price of the said picture, and to get the proprietor of it to reduce its price one-half. That offer could not be accepted, on account of its appearing to form such a contrast with what takes place here; and as it seemed likely to lead to Parliamentary discussions of a similar nature to those regarding the wooden house. Nevertheless, the very kind behaviour you have experienced, and all you tell me in your last letter, strikes me most powerfully, I confess.

Can it be possible that the horrible vexations we experience are not with the cognisance of the English Government? And can it be possible that the private enmity of the Governor should be sufficient to harass the Emperor, even unto death? Can Governments and Princes be so easily deceived? It is in this state of doubt that I now write to you.

Things are materially altered since your departure. In the year 1817, and this of 1818, the vexations practised against the Emperor are increased to that degree, that they can only be considered as an attempt upon his life. You shall judge of this by the detail. You cannot but have read, in the newspapers of the month of March, certain observations upon the speech of Lord Bathurst, but since then things have got much worse, and the hatred of the Governor of this country has no longer had any limits.

When you left, the Emperor gave up riding on horseback, to avoid the snares and insults prepared for him by exposing him to the insolence of the sentinels; he has been since obliged to debar himself even from walking exercise, to avoid similar inconveniences. During the months of March and April, the Emperor occasionally went out to come and see my wife; and sometimes, too, he used to seat himself fifty paces from the house, upon the bench which you know, where he would remain half an hour or an hour. They devised means to prevent this, and to oblige him to confine himself closely to his room. They were aware that was no difficult task. They appointed a soldier of the 66th for the gardener, and they stationed at my house a serjeant or overseer of the workmen—both very useful at the house, either to remove any noxious weeds which might infect the air (for it is an impossibility to have a garden on such a spot as this), or to repair the house, which is in ruins, and admits the water upon every shower. All that appeared very reasonable; but the Governor invested these two soldiers with the power of stopping whomsoever they pleased, at the very doors and under the very windows of the Emperor. From that moment he has never been out, and it is now upwards of a hundred days that he has not put his head out of the windows.

This climate, this entire deprivation of exercise, and this miserable habitation, have impaired his health, so much so, that you would not know him again. Ever since the end of September, 1817, he has felt the first symptoms of the chronic hepatitis, which you are aware is mortal in this country. The good O'Meara attended him, in whom, you know, he has confidence. Sir Hudson Lowe, in the month of April, at the very time this doctor was most necessary to him, reduced him to the necessity of giving in his resignation, and wanted to foist upon him Mr. Baxter, whom you all know. The Emperor refused to see any medical attendant. From the 10th of April to the 10th of May, he was without a doctor, and at last the Russian and Austrian Commissioners, who were sent out here, being indignant at this treatment, gave the Governor to understand, that if the Emperor should die in that situation, they themselves would be at a loss what to say, if the opinion should prevail in Europe, that he had been assassinated. It appears this decided the Governor to reinstate the doctor, but there is no species of ill-treatment they did not make him suffer. They wanted to get him driven from the table of the officers of the 66th, but, these brave soldiers disdaining to participate in so arbitrary an act, Sir Hudson Lowe himself gave orders to the doctor, through the colonel, to discontinue to mess with the said officers. He has written to London, and it is probable they will drive the doctor away. The Emperor will receive no other; and, if the Prince Regent or Lord Liverpool decline taking cognisance of this fact, he will die here of disease, deprived even of the assistance of his doctor. The Emperor is,

however, now very ill, and has been for two months. He rises at 11 o'clock in the morning, and retires again at two. Some few days ago he had an alarming crisis from the effects of the mercury which Doctor O'Meara had given him, that being prescribed for the liver complaint. Dr. O'Meara, being alarmed at his responsibility, proposed to me that we should call in Mr. Baxter, and the surgeon of the *Conqueror*. They are the two principal medical men in this country. You know what repugnance the Emperor felt against Mr. Baxter, arising from his having formerly been a surgeon-major in the Italian battalion commanded by Sir H. Lowe; this aversion is since much heightened, from the circumstance of his having lent himself, from the month of October, 1817, to the month of March, 1818, in drawing up false bulletins, replete with untruths, which have deceived both his own Government and Europe; but he saw no impropriety, although he cared little about it, at our having a Mr. Stockoe called in, and he did, in fact, come to Longwood the same day at three o'clock in the afternoon, but would not go in to the Emperor, feeling that his responsibility was compromised, and that he was in danger of losing the place he had acquired by forty years' service. That appeared to me so extraordinary, that I could not credit it, and I saw him. He expressed to me his regret, for he is a very respectable old man, and easily explained the thing. He had been lightly given to understand he might go, in the same way as they did to Mr. Coles, the banker, whom you know. I had some money account to settle with him, and sent for him, but, when he came, he said he would not enter upon the subject, except in the presence of the orderly officer, for if he did he should be lost. Of course, I declined that. The same case happened a few days ago with Mr. Fowler, who has arrived from England. I had an account to settle with him amounting to a few hundred pounds, for some clothes made in London. True it is, that you are not aware of the situation we are in now; it can in no instance be compared with our situation in your time, and even then it was bad enough; and you sufficiently know this Prince to induce you to use your influence to prevent any of the Emperor's family from coming out here. The spectacle of the humiliations, the vexations, the hatred he is a prey to, would be utterly insupportable, were his mother or any of his brothers to come and share them. Even Count de Montholon and myself, who are now the only persons with him, have been repeatedly pressed by him to go and release ourselves from the like treatment, and to leave him to himself. He assures us his agony would be less acute if he did not see that we also were the victims of this misery. You remember the officers have not visited me for a long time, but, whenever they meet us on the road, they have the civility to stop and gossip with my wife. They have now been forbidden to do that, not in writing, but by insinuation, so that it has frequently happened that these officers, on perceiving us, have turned away out of the road.

Things have now come to such a pitch, that the foul linen remains several days to be searched by the orderly captain, and sometimes by the Etat-major. This scene is not only highly indecent, but very humiliating to them; its only purpose is insult and outrage.

In the month of June, 1816, a store-ship brought out a marble bust of young Napoleon. Sir Hudson Lowe directed that it should be thrown into the sea; he afterwards denied it, but we have a judicial

attestation of it; for this act disgusted both Lady Malcolm, who was then still here, and all the Commanders of the storeships who were then here.

After that, in the month of February last, the storeship, the *Cambridge*, brought out two engravings or prints of young Napoleon, which he had purchased upon the Quays at London. Sir H. Lowe had them bought, stated he intended them as a present to his father; and when, a month afterwards, the officers of that ship learnt the contrary to be the fact (viz. in order to keep them from him) they were no longer able to dissemble their indignation at such an act having been committed by an Englishman.

All this conduct, on the part of the Governor, cannot be disguised or withheld from the British Government. If what the Emperor told Lord Amherst were repeated in London, if they inquired of Captain Popleton, who was the orderly officer for two years, and whom you know, if they interrogated Colonel Nichols, of the 66th; if they asked Captain Fehrzen, of the 53rd, and many others, they must be aware of the base conduct pursued here.

If the Emperor has any enemy in Europe who would have applauded the English Government if they had openly and publicly put him to death on board the *Bellerophon*, there can be none who will not one day load with imprecations and opprobrium the authors of his destruction in so dastardly a manner.

How can this be reconciled with what you write me? Possibly by some crafty correspondence teeming with lies and prepared with cunning address. We have at all times, for two years, preferred our complaints pretty openly, and they ought to be informed in London of the criminal conduct observed here.

You will be amazed at my mentioning the French, Austrian, and Russian Commissioners who are here. Whilst you were here we never saw them. Even now they have not seen the Emperor, nor have they visited us; but we have met them several times on the roads of the boundary, a ridiculous way enough. If the Emperor has not acknowledged them as Commissioners, he has never refused to receive them as strangers. As to the Governor he has not seen him since the month of August, 1816, and you are acquainted with the Emperor's reasons for not receiving him, after the insults he has offered him. In this state of things, that Sir H. Lowe should take revenge, may be explained, although, most unquestionably, it does not give proof of any generosity of character; but what explanation can be given for the Government's continuing, for two years, its confidence in a man who so surprisingly abuses it?

I implore you then, instantly, and in the name of the Emperor, to acquaint his family and his relations with the situation of things in this country, and to require imperiously that none of them come here to aggravate his misfortunes by wishing to share them.

You tell us that the English Government has contracted for our being supplied with the *Morning Chronicle*. It is the same with this journal as with the *Times*; they do send it to us, keeping back those numbers it is convenient to withhold. Thus they have sent us some numbers for February, and some for March, but they have kept back all they did not wish us to see. Not to have a series of journals, is worse than having none.

How do they send us the books? As soon as a storeship arrives, the Governor's first care is to buy up all the books she has, especially the French, to prevent our buying them.

With regard to the pamphlets you advise us of, we have only received, up to the 12th of March, one entire case, a list of which you will find inclosed, and on the 28th of the same month seven volumes, of which you will also find inclosed a specification. This leads us to believe they probably have withheld the remainder.

I have read this letter to the Emperor, and he has approved the contents, thinking, however, that I have only faintly expressed the baseness of the conduct observed towards him. He desires me to add two *aportelles* (notes), which will put you in possession of the real opinion of the officer to whom they have confided the custody of this island. The calomel has not hitherto improved the state of his liver, and has been the cause of other indisposition.

Accept, my dear Las Casas, the assurance of my affectionate sentiments.

(Signed) Le CTE. BERTRAND.

P.S.—In the few days which have elapsed since my letter was written, many occurrences have taken place which will prove to you how much worse our situation grows instead of better, as you seem to think. You know that Captain Mackay, an officer in the 53rd, was succeeded as orderly officer at Longwood by Captain Popleton, of the same regiment, and he, on his departure, was succeeded by Captain Blakeney, of the 66th, an officer who, like his predecessors, enjoyed the highest character in the regiment. Within a few days of his arrival he found that the Governor required things of him very unworthy of a man of honour; but, as that evil sensibly increased, he urgently requested, as soon as his year's service in that disgusting post expired, that he might be relieved from it. We know that he declared, confidentially, to his friends in the regiment, that it was impossible for a man of honour to continue in that post, without forfeiting his own good opinion. It may be, too, that Sir H. Lowe was not satisfied with the avowed sentiments of this captain; but, however that may be, on the 20th of this month, one of the officers sent out to the island to hold a command in the Militia, and whose old connexion with Sir H. Lowe you are no stranger to, and the only person on the Governor's staff whom the Emperor refused to see, came and assumed the post of the orderly officer, and with him, under sundry pretexts, another officer; so that we have now two, instead of one. It appears that some Government rooms and effects, which had been given in common for the orderly officer and Dr. O'Meara, had led to some sharp altercation between them.

On the 22nd, I addressed the Protest, marked A, to the Governor, who had a challenge sent to me by the said officer. It is beneath my character and situation to provoke Sir H. Lowe; but, under these circumstances, I felt it my duty to address to him the letter marked B.

On the 24th, he made Dr. O'Meara leave Longwood, in virtue, he said, of an order from Lord Bathurst, as you will see by the Governor's letter, marked C, to Count de Montholon, who replied to him by the letter subjoined, D.

Doctor O'Meara, as you know, was given to the Emperor by an Order of Council, in the place of his own doctor, and in consequence of

a special demand I addressed to Admiral Keith. The Emperor can only be deprived of him by an Order of the Council. If such an order exists, why not let us see it? Unquestionably, neither the Council nor Lord Bathurst ought to deprive the Emperor of the physician of his choice; they must be sensible of the consequence, unless they supply his place by some other in his confidence.

But, if an order in Council to that effect did exist, that would not justify the conduct of the Governor—for such an order, given under ordinary circumstances, could never be intended to be put in force at a period when the Emperor was seriously ill. It never could be their intention to remove his doctor, in the midst of the treatment of so serious a disorder, which assailed his life; especially since we have requested, ever since the month of April, that if they intended to remove Dr. O'Meara, they should send some one from Europe to supply his place, who might have the patient's confidence; which request ought to have been answered in less than three months.

I conclude, my dear Las Casas, with a breaking heart,

(Signed) BERTRAND.

First Arrival of Books, contained in a case delivered the 12th of March, 1818.

Modern Biography	3 vols.
L'Hermite de la Chaussé d'Autin	2 ,,
Le Franc Parleur	2 ,,
L'Hermite de la Guyanne	3 ,,
Tableau Historique de la Littérature depuis 1789...	1 ,,
La France et les Français en 1817	1 ,,
Histoire de Doujon et Chateau de Vincennes ...	3 ,,
Bulletins de Paris, 1815	1 ,,
Les Devoirs	2 ,,
Histoire des Sociétés Secrets de l'année 1815 ...	1 ,,
Le Faux Dauphin	2 ,,
Le Cri des Peuples	1 ,,
Curious and Interesting Anecdotes	1 ,,
On the Organisation of the Armed Force, 1817 ...	1 ,,
Total	27 vols. (*sic*).

Letters Normandes et Champenoises, 15 numbers.

N.B.—These books were not sent upon your application, but in consequence of a letter written to the niece of my wife, the Countess of Leedkerke, daughter of Mde. Latour Dupin, a letter which was sent back to us from London, and upon which Mr. Coulburn was kind enough to undertake to send us some books and pamphlets, which were requested to be sent regularly every month. For the rest, since the 28th of March we have received no others, although several store-ships and vessels of war have arrived. B.

SECOND ARRIVAL—received the 28th of March, 1818.

History of the Campaigns of 1814 and 1815, by Alphonse de Beauchamp	4 vols.
Itinéraire du retour de l'Isle d'Elbe	2 ,,
Abridgement of the Life of the Duke of Otranto...	1 ,,
Total	7 vols.

Notes written by the Emperor on the back of Sir Hudson Lowe's letter, dated the 18th Nov., 1817.*

This letter, that of the 26th of July, and that of the 26th of October last, are full of lies. I have shut myself up in my apartment for the last 18 months ; to shelter myself from the insults of that officer. My health is now impaired, and it no longer permits me to read such disgusting stuff. Send me no more of it.

Whether this officer conceives himself authorized by verbal and secret instructions from his Ministry, as he has given it to be understood, or whether he acts from his own impulse, which one may suppose from the care he takes to disguise it, I cannot but treat him as my assassin.

Had they sent out here a man of honour, I should doubtless have experienced less torment, but they would have then escaped that odium with which they will be branded by Europe and history, whom this artful man's farrago of writing will not deceive.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

Longwood, this 23rd Nov., 1817.

(A.)

PROTEST ADDRESSED TO THE GOVERNOR, THE 22ND OF JULY, 1818.

In the name of the Emperor Napoleon, I am directed to protest—

1. Against all violation of the boundary by the domestics, workmen, or others whom you may secretly clothe with the garment of public authority.

2. Against the injuries done to Dr. O'Meara to oblige him to leave this place, and against the obstructions, open or covert, which you have or may occasion to prevent Napoleon's being assisted in his disorder with the advice and opinion of a medical practitioner in whom he may have confidence, accredited to that service by his Britannic Majesty, or admitted to publicly exercise his functions in the island.

3. Against the testimony, reports, and writings of the Militia officer Lyster, who is only stationed at Longwood as an instrument of hatred and vengeance.

(Signed) Le CE. BERTRAND.

* These we inserted in the 'Morning Chronicle' on the 22nd August.

(B.)

TO THE GOVERNOR.

Longwood, July 25, 1818.

Sir,—I have the honour to send you a letter which I have received. The old man appears to me to be out of his senses.

He cannot be acquainted with my official correspondence except by your orders. I have not answered him, nor shall I answer him. He is merely an agent, and should his principal, being a General Officer, desire me to explain, I am ready to do him that honour.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

(Signed) Le CTE. BERTRAND.

(C.)

LETTER TO CTE. DE MONTHOLON.

Plantation House, July 25, 1818.

Sir,—I do myself the honour to acquaint you, for the information of Napoleon Bonaparte, that by an instruction received from Earl Bathurst, dated 16th May, 1818, I am directed to withdraw Mr. O'Meara from attendance upon his person, and have given orders for his departure from Longwood accordingly. Rear-Admiral Plampin has received instructions on the same occasion from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, in respect to him on his quitting this island. On the removal of Mr. O'Meara, Earl Bathurst's further instructions are, that I am to direct Mr. Baxter to give his medical attendance to Napoleon Bonaparte whenever it may be required, and particularly instruct him on all occasions to consider the health of Napoleon Bonaparte as the principal object of his attention; that, in communicating this arrangement, I am not to fail acquainting him at the same time, that should he have reason to be dissatisfied with Dr. Baxter's medical attendance, or should prefer that of any other professional man on the island, I am perfectly prepared to acquiesce in his wish on the subject, and to permit the attendance of any medical practitioner selected by him, provided that he conforms strictly to the regulations in force. Having, therefore, conveyed to Mr. O'Meara the order for his removal, I have given the necessary instructions to Mr. Baxter; he will be ready in consequence to repair to Longwood on the summons or signal that may be made to him. In the mean time, until I may be informed of Napoleon Bonaparte's own desires on the subject, I shall direct a medical officer to be in waiting at Longwood for any sudden call. I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) H. LOWE, Lieut.-Gen.

(D.)

LETTER FROM COUNT MONTHOLON TO THE GOVERNOR.

Sir,—Dr. O'Meara quitted Longwood yesterday, obliged to abandon his patient in the midst of a treatment he was directing for him.

This morning that treatment has ceased—this morning a great crime commences to be carried into execution!

The letters of Count Bertrand of the 13th, 24th, 26th, and 27th of April last, leave me nothing to add. The Emperor will never receive any other doctor than Mr. O'Meara, because he is his own, or some one who shall be sent out from Europe, conformably with the above quoted letter of the 13th of April.

I have communicated the letter you wrote me yesterday; the one I now have the honour to write you is the substance of the reply I am directed to send you.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your most humble servant,

(Signed) Le Gen. CTE DE MONTHOLON.

'Times,' November 10, 1818.

The attempt to rescue Buonaparte, or effect his escape, is made capital offence by the Act of the 56th of the present reign, chap 22, from which the following is an extract:—'And be it further enacted, That if any person or persons, being a subject or subjects of or owing allegiance to his Majesty, his heirs or successors, shall rescue or attempt to rescue the said Napoleon Buonaparte, or shall knowingly and wilfully aid or assist in the escape of the said Napoleon Buonaparte, or in any attempt to escape from such custody as aforesaid, or from any limits or bounds wherein he now is or at any time hereafter shall or may be detained and kept in custody as aforesaid, or in which he shall or may be suffered to go at large within the limits of any island or country, territory or place, or within the limits of any district or bounds within any island or country, territory or place, upon parole or without parole, all and every such person and persons so offending shall upon being convicted thereof be adjudged guilty of felony, and shall suffer death as in cases of felony, without benefit of clergy.'

'Times,' November 16, 1818.

The *Hampshire Telegraph* publishes the following extract of a letter from St. Helena. There is very little new in it; but anything from that quarter must interest to a certain degree.

'*St. Helena, September* 28, 1818.

'The *Musquito* sloop of war sails to-morrow for England; she is charged with despatches from Sir Hudson Lowe, relating, it is understood, to an intercepted correspondence, which has discovered the existence of a plot, the object of which was the liberation of Buona-

parte from this island. I forbear to mention the names, currently circulated here, of those who are said to be implicated in this transaction; a banker's house in London, however, and two individuals in England, with others on the Continent, it is rumoured, are concerned. Detection of the plot was produced by the circumstance, it is said, of many letters addressed to a person (the name of which no individual is to be found here), lying uncalled for at the post-office. Buonaparte is in very good health; he still, however, abstains from exercise, confining himself wholly within doors. The reason assigned at Longwood for the departure hence of General Gourgaud is a quarrel between him and General Montholon. Gourgaud has been challenged by the latter, but Buonaparte forbidding them to fight, Gourgaud quitted. It is confidently said, Buonaparte has recently obtained the sum of 15,000*l.* in dollars; through what means this weighty bulk could have been carried clandestinely to Longwood is still a matter of surprise. The discovery of the plot has also brought to light where the whole of Buonaparte's treasure is deposited. Bertrand some time since asserted he could at any time command a million sterling. Of the three Commissioners, one only remains on the island; those of Russia and Austria are gone to Rio to take up their abode some time. Buonaparte will not admit either one of them to his presence; the Austrian Commisioner, Baron de Sturmer, who returned some weeks to his Court, did not, during the long period he remained on the island, once see Buonaparte.

The island is not healthy for a continued residence; it is for many hours every day covered with vapours and dense fogs, and it does not yield a sixth part of sufficient vegetable substances for the use of the troops and seamen. The inhabitants are wholly excluded from all means of livelihood; no ships are allowed to remain here longer than is absolutely necessary; all supplies come from the Cape, but they are very scanty, and what fresh meat is afforded from this channel is wholly engrossed by the troops; the ships never get a meal of it; and during the last five months they have had only one-third bread, no cocoa, and no pease; the deficiency is wholly made up of rice. Dysentery, consequently, prevails much, and all the vessels have lost many men; the *Musquito* has lost about twenty-three in three months, and the *Conqueror* has scarcely seamen enough on board to work the ship. But, notwithstanding this weak state, the squadron has furnished 300 men to assist in building a new house for Buonaparte, of the most capacious dimensions. The seamen, after the day's work is over, are marched to another part of the island, to be encamped for the night. Every ship furnishes guard-boats, which row round the island, and, as they approach the various points, are always challenged by the sentinels. A short time since, one of the sloops of war, in working to windward of the island, discovered two men in a cave on the shore; she accordingly sent a boat, and brought off two Yamstock (native) negroes, who had been fishing, and who, it appeared, used to get to the beach from the top of the cliff by a secret and dangerous path. A new battery was consequently erected, and it was by this unknown outlet, it is said, that the *Great Man* was to be carried off. We are constantly amused with stories of schooners hovering off the island; the cruisers certainly sometimes see such, but never board them. A transport from the Cape lately passed one close, lying to windward, about 80 miles

from the island, which took no notice of her. She might, however, have been slaving, or looking out for Spanish or Portuguese Indiamen. She was a large, long schooner of 18 guns, and apparently full of men. The troops here are more healthy than the seamen are; many casualties, however, occur among the former—several sentinels have been lost by falling over the cliffs.'

'Morning Chronicle,' January 5, 1819.

One of the French journals states that about a month since a mason came from St. Denis to Paris, and asked a corporal of the Royal Guard, whom he met, whether it was not true that Bonaparte had escaped from St. Helena, and had landed in France. The corporal, indignant at the question, arrested the mason, who was on Thursday last brought before the Tribunal of Correctional Police, and sentenced to three months' imprisonment, for having circulated false and alarming news.

The *Ghent Journal* of the 8th of December last contains the following remarks upon the letters which we published on the 2nd of that month, relative to the sham St. Helena plot:—

As everybody had foreseen here, we perceive this grand conspiracy reduced to nothing. We ask, for what purpose the statesmen of our times labour to create phantoms and to invent conspiracies? Bonaparte now is only interesting because he is unfortunate—because the laws of hospitality have been violated towards him—because all the ignominies which his gaolers through a spirit of vengeance heap upon him must afflict every generous man, and above all those who have been his subjects under a reign as glorious as it was despotic. If it is a crime to pity his lot, almost all Europe is criminal. Let the English recollect that the death of Mithridates dishonoured the Roman name, and that Cæsar never persecuted those who bewailed the fate of Pompey.

This St. Helena affair is generally considered as a machination of the English Ministry. It is not at all likely that Bonaparte, attacked by a liver complaint, has tried to escape; if he succeeded in it, England would be accused of it. If they had been generous enough to grant him a retreat more worthy of him, all the world would rejoice at it. But, if death strikes him upon this rock, so miserable an end will only add to the éclat of his name, and to the interest of his history.

'Morning Chronicle,' January 25, 1819.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM ST. HELENA, DATED 20th NOV., 1818.

Great preparations are making here for constructing the new house for Bonaparte, the foundation of which has been laid down directly opposite to the house in which Bertrand now resides. There is to be a veranda of 60 feet in length in the front, and the house is to be surrounded with a stone wall and encircled with iron palisades ten feet high. The labour required in order to bring up the materials is almost incredible. The wood for the joists, &c., is sawed in the town, and partly carried up by sailors upon their shoulders as far as the Alarm-house, from whence it is taken by the 66th to Deadwood, partly by fatigue parties of soldiers sent down at four o'clock in the morning. The troops are greatly harassed, being obliged to go on fatigue immediately after being relieved from guard or picquet, and have only one night in bed out of three. The sickness amongst them and the sailors is very alarming, and the mortality very great. It is supposed to be partly caused by the excessive humidity of the climate. Those who are competent judges say that the house will not be finished before three or four years, although the Governor pretends that he will accomplish it in nine or ten months. He repairs daily to superintend the workmen, and has been seen frequently at Longwood, although he has never been able to obtain an interview with Bonaparte, and is not upon speaking terms with any of the French. It is said that Bonaparte wished that the house should not have been built in the spot which was selected by Sir Hudson Lowe, and that he has declared intentions of not occupying it. The Governor, it is said, intends, in that case, to allow the house that he at present resides in to tumble down for want of repairs, and thus compel him to enter into his cage. Nothing can be more wretched than the situation of poor Madame Bertrand. The officers have been formally prohibited speaking to her husband, and admittance has been refused to her and her family at the houses of some of the officers where she presented herself in consequence of the prohibition of intercourse. Persons who are seen to speak to the French are subsequently interrogated upon oath, and obliged to make a formal deposition of the conversation they have had with them; in consequence of this everybody avoids them. Count Balmaine left this about four weeks back with Captain Gor, Aide-de-Camp to the French Commissioner, and has proceeded to the Brazils. It is thought that he will not return.

The Inquisition in Spain does not adopt more prohibitory measures towards the introduction and circulation of newspapers in that unhappy country than are practised here, and we are consequently almost wholly ignorant of what is passing in England.

'Morning Chronicle,' February 24, 1819.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM ST. HELENA, DATED DEC. 23, 1818:—

No person is now seen to speak to General Bertrand, or even to poor Madame Bertrand, as (independent of the Proclamations) Sir Hudson Lowe has officially prohibited any intercourse with them.

The building of the new house advances slowly, and, in order to prevent the French from viewing the prison constructing for them, an immense mud wall has been thrown up directly in front of Bertrand's windows which totally obscures all prospect, and, I am informed, scarcely leaves room for the inmates to enter. The situation chosen by Sir Hudson Lowe for this new Bastile is one of the most unpleasant in the island, being totally void of shade and water, and decidedly contrary to the desire known to have been expressed by Bonaparte, should his residence be changed. It is not supposed that he will ever occupy it. He has never received Dr. Verling, who was sent up by the Government to him as Surgeon (although that gentleman continues to reside at Longwood); has never spoken to any Englishman since July, and has not been seen out any farther than the balcony in front of his room; so that all the Governor's information respecting him is merely founded upon conjecture. Several letters directed to respectable individuals here have been recently opened at Plantation House, and detained from the right owners, although their contents were perfectly innocent, and entirely relating to private affairs.

'Morning Chronicle,' April 2, 1819.

By some extracts of letters from St. Helena, of a late date, in January, it seems that the squadron and the troops there were very unhealthy, and that Bonaparte had been so ill as to be obliged to call in the Surgeon of the flag-ship, at two o'clock in the morning. A morning paper of yesterday gives the following extract of a letter, dated St. Helena, the 26th of January, 1819:—

'I have little or no news to tell you, for St. Helena, I think, has become a true prison. There is a house erecting for Napoleon at Longwood—he was very ill a few days ago, and would see no doctor, except Mr. Stokoe, of the *Conqueror*, who was a particular friend of Mr. O'Meara. We are not allowed to see the publications of the latter Gentleman. You, no doubt, have seen them all. The Bertrands are well; I had the pleasure of seeing them walking out on Sunday last. Just as I was writing the above, Dr. Stokoe called to let me know that he had been ordered to be tried by a court-martial, or to be invalided.

He has chosen the latter, and sails for England to-morrow. All this in consequence of some information he has given the people at Longwood, respecting some papers sent out to him for them.'

This intelligence is confirmed by the arrival of Dr. Stokoe, on board the *Trincomalee* frigate at Portsmouth, on the 30th ultimo. After compelling his medical attendant, in whom he had confidence, to resign his situation and quit the island, when Bonaparte was afflicted with a dangerous malady; it appears now, that upon a recurrence or aggravation of his distemper, Sir Hudson Lowe forces the only medical person on the island, whose visits he would allow, to quit it the moment his medical services were required by Bonaparte. Let those who countenance and tolerate such practices seriously reflect upon the imputations which may be cast upon the nation, if such conduct is not made the subject of investigation, or if anything befalls Bonaparte.

'Morning Chronicle,' April 6, 1819.

ST. HELENA.—[From a Portsmouth paper.]—On Tuesday arrived the *Trincomalee*, new frigate, Capt. Bridges, from Bombay, last from St. Helena, whence she sailed on the 30th of January. By her came passenger, as we have already mentioned, Mr. Stokoe, surgeon of the *Conqueror*, and latterly the medical attendant on the person of Bonaparte. The cause of the sudden return of this officer to England is thus stated in the following letter:—

'*St. Helena, Jan.* 29, 1819.

'There has been no occurrence here of any interest to our friends at home for some time; all has been as vapid and monotonous as the harbour duty on the home station, only with far greater privations. But at length a *buz* has been created. Mr. Stokoe, the surgeon of the flag-ship, whom Bonaparte accepted as his medical attendant, after the return home of Mr. O'Meara, has incurred the displeasure of the Governor, and returns to England in the *Trincomalee*. The facts are, I understand—When Mr. Stokoe consented to succeed Mr. O'Meara, and before he had made any visit to Bonaparte, he made it the *sine quâ non* of his accepting the situation, with Sir Hudson Lowe, that he should not be required to detail any familiar conversations into which he might be drawn, or any circumstances which he might overhear at Longwood; but pledging himself, as a British officer, that if anything should come to his knowledge in which his allegiance to his King and country would be compromised by his secrecy, he would then instantly give information to the Governor. This has passed on until a few days since, when Bonaparte was suddenly seized with serious illness in the middle of the night. Mr. Stokoe, as soon as the necessary forms were gone through, visited him, and found that he had had a slight apoplectic fit. After a few hours he appeared free from an attack, but it had left a considerable degree of indisposition. Mr. Stokoe made

official reports of the circumstances to Sir Hudson Lowe and the Admiral (Plampin), and gave copies of them to Bonaparte. Whether it was this latter circumstance, or whether Mr. S. had represented Bonaparte as being in a worse state of health than suited the predisposed notions of Sir Hudson, is not known; but he was instantly forbid to go to Longwood—was threatened to be tried by a court-martial—or, as an act of mitigation of his offence, he was told he might invalid home. Of course he preferred the latter, as the least incommodious to him, and he sails to-morrow in the *Trincomalee*. The reports were drawn up of course, with conscientious accuracy; and were such as the case demanded. I understand Bonaparte is really in a serious state of health. His dwelling is sealed against all visitors.'

'Morning Chronicle,' July 13, 1819.

Saturday the *Magicienne* frigate, Captain Purvis, arrived at Portsmouth from the East Indies, last from the Mauritius and St. Helena; left the former island 12th April, the latter 15th May, in company with the *Podargus*, 16 guns, Hon. Captain Ross, which ship arrived at Portsmouth on Friday night. The *Liverpool* was left at the Mauritius; the *Conqueror*, Tees; and *Sappho*, at St. Helena. The health of the crews of the St. Helena squadron had greatly improved. Bonaparte's health and mental disquietude in *statu quo*.

'Morning Chronicle,' August 13, 1819.

Extract of a letter from St. Helena, dated the 29th of May:—

'General Sir George and Lady Bingham embark for England to-morrow on board the *Regent*. Report says, that he will soon return as Governor. One of the transports with the 20th Regiment has not yet arrived. Count Balmaine has returned here from the Brazils. We know nothing of what passes in Europe, as all the newspapers which arrive are obliged to be forwarded to Sir Hudson Lowe, who destroys them after perusal. Even his own papers are not exempted from this, and whenever he condescends to lend one to the officers of his staff it is sent and returned under a sealed envelope, in order to prevent the contents being made known to all except the favoured confidant.

'I believe that I omitted giving you an account of the sham fight which caused so great an alarm in this island. Sir Thomas Reade, the

Adjutant-General, being desirous of gratifying Lady Lowe with the representation of a naval night action, gave directions to that effect to Captain Wauchope, of the *Eurydice*. Accordingly at ten o'clock at night, the *Eurydice*, after a brilliant discharge of rockets, blue lights, &c., commenced a vigorous cannonade, which was answered by a brig, and kept up with great spirit on both sides, to the great admiration of such ladies as were in the secret, and to the consternation of the inhabitants, amongst others, of Admiral Plampin, who not having been consulted on the occasion, and imagining that the Yankees were endeavouring to land in order to carry off Bonaparte, sent his Secretary and the signal midshipman galloping down the steep side path from the Briars at the risk of their necks, to ascertain what was the matter. Nothing could exceed the confusion amongst the natives, the greatest part of whom flocked to the alarm-posts, where they remained until daylight, while the favoured few who were duly initiated quietly repaired to their accustomed place of repose, laughing within themselves at the fears of their credulous neighbours. The following day an order was issued by Admiral Plampin to the squadron under his command, prohibiting a repetition of night cannonading, without his consent having been previously obtained. Nothing further is known about Bonaparte, than that he is on the island.'

'Times,' November 3, 1819.

Our readers will learn with surprise, and no doubt with indignation, the disingenuous manner in which Mr. Stokoe, Naval Surgeon on board the Admiral's flag-ship at St. Helena, has been treated. They will recollect that, on the return of Mr. O'Meara to England, this most respectable naval surgeon was directed to go to Longwood, to attend on Buonaparte, who was much indisposed. He did so; but he, like his predecessor, incurred the displeasure of Sir Hudson Lowe; and he had his option of retiring on half-pay, or of taking his trial, by court-martial, in St. Helena, on charges of having exceeded his commission, by writing bulletins of the ex-Emperor's state of health. He preferred the former, and returned to England; where, on his arrival, he was received in the most gracious manner at the Admiralty, and in a few days received an order to return to his station on board the flag-ship, with which he forthwith complied, in the full persuasion that it was a mark of the satisfaction of the Lords of the Admiralty with his conduct, and a reproof to Sir Hudson Lowe for the treatment he had shown him. No sooner, however, had he arrived at St. Helena, than he was told that a court-martial was to be assembled to try him on several charges, preferred against him by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, relative to his conduct during his attendance on General Buonaparte! They are such as would, in any other case and situation, be considered frivolous and vexatious; but coming from so high an authority, and supported by the local influence of his enemy,

he can have very little hope of relief. He requested, among others, that Counts Bertrand and Montholon might be summoned to attend as witnesses on his behalf, the only persons by whom he could refute the principal charges against him; but he was told that there were legal objections to their appearance. The secrecy also which their Lordships thought proper to observe, with respect to their design, in sending him back to St. Helena to rejoin his ship, deprives him of the benefit of all the original documents of official correspondence, he having left them in England, as well as testimonials of character, which after twenty years of approved service, he had received from every commander under whom he had sailed. The system of terror so powerfully operates in St. Helena, that a military officer declined giving Surgeon Stokoe his countenance and assistance, during the trial, on the plea of ill-health; and a writer in the Admiral's office begged he would excuse him from attending to take notes, for fear of incurring displeasure! The trial was to come on the day after our despatch was dated, which was the 29th of August last. We are sure that the above narrative requires no comment.—*Morning Chronicle.*

'Times,' January 27, 1820.

BUONAPARTE'S MEMOIRS OF THE HUNDRED DAYS.

We have received a book from Paris, which has been suppressed in that capital and throughout France; it is entitled, '*Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France, en* 1815.' We know not whether its chief enriosity be not that profession which it makes of having come from the island of St. Helena, and therefore its having been written under the eye, if not by the hand, of Bnonaparte. Its first title, as the editor advertises, was 'Second Manuscript come from St. Helena;' but he declined making it known by that designation, in order, he says, not to draw upon himself the reproach of seducing the public by an announcement which recalled ancient recollections. He openly states also, that he was intrusted with the publication by O'Meara, the surgeon of the *Northumberland*, the bearer of the manuscript to Enrope; whose subsequent conduct, therefore, fully justifies the suspicions which were entertained of him, and the measures which were enforced against him, by Sir Hudson Lowe. This, therefore, being the history of the book, we shall present a brief abstract of its contents, and then snbjoin onr qnotations:—

'Chap. I.—*The Bourbons depart from France.*—1. The imperial eagle flies from steeple to steeple till it reaches the towers of Notre Dame. 2. Secret convention concluded at the end of the year 1814, between Austria, France, and England, against Russia and Prussia. 3. The King of Naples declares war against Austria on the 22nd of March. 4. The Congress of Vienna in March, 1815.

'Chap. II.—*Military State of France.*—1. Situation of the army on

the 1st of March, 1815. 2. Organization of an army of 800,000 men. 3. Arms, equipments, repairs, and finances. 4. Situation of the army on the 1st of June, 1815. 5. Paris. 6. Lyons.

'CHAP. III.—*Plan of Campaigns.*—1. Could the French army commence hostilities on the 1st of April? 2. Of three plans of campaign, one was to remain on the defensive, to draw the enemies' armies under Paris and Lyons. 3. The second was to assume the offensive on the 15th of June, and to invade Belgium. 4. The third project was to assume the offensive on the 15th of June; and in case of failure, to draw the enemy under the walls of Paris and Lyons. The Emperor adopts this plan of operations.

'CHAP. IV.—*Opening of the Campaign, June*, 1815.—1. The state and position of the French army on the evening of the 14th of June. 2. State and position of the Anglo-Dutch and Prusso-Saxon armies. 3. Manœuvres and battles of the 15th of June. 4. Position of the belligerent armies on the night of the 15–16th.

'CHAP. V.—*Battle of Ligny.*—1. Advance of the French army to give battle to the Prusso-Saxon army. 2. Battle of Ligny, June 16. 3. Battle of Quatre-Bras, June 16. 4. Position of the armies in the night between the 16th and 17th. 5. Their manœuvres on the 17th. 6. Their position on the night of the 17–18th of June.

'CHAP. VI.—*The Battle of Mont St. Jean.*—1. Line of battle of the Anglo-Dutch army. 2. Line of battle of the French army. 3. Projects of the Emperor; attack on Hougomont. 4. General Bulow arrives on the field of battle with 30,000 men, which raises the army of the Duke of Wellington to 120,000 men. 5. Attack on La Haye Sainte by the 1st corps. 6. General Bulow is repulsed. 7. Charge of cavalry on the rising ground. 8. Movement of Marshal Grouchy. 9. Movement of Marshal Blucher, which raises the Allied Army on the field of battle to 150,000 men. 10. Movement of the Imperial Guard.

'CHAP VII.—*The Rallying.*—1. Rallying of the army at Laon. 2. Retreat of Marshal Grouchy. 3. Resources which remained to France. 4. Effects of the Abdication of the Emperor.

'CHAP. VIII.—*Observations.* 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th.'

We shall not proceed with regularity in our extracts, which will be curious, but choose them according to their interest, or our convenience. The first will be somewhat long: it contains what we suppose may be esteemed the opinion of Buonaparte on the conduct and talents of the Generals opposed to him. 'Let my enemy,' however, says the old proverb, 'give my character.' Their respective countries and the world appreciate differently the merits of the two Generals.

'*Sixth Observation.*—1. The French army manœuvred on the right of the Sambre on the 13th and 14th. On the night of the latter day it encamped within half a league of the Prussian advanced posts. Marshal Blucher had, however, no information of what was passing; and on the morning of the 15th, when the account reached his headquarters that the Emperor had entered Charleroi, the Prusso-Saxon army was still cantoned over an extent of 30 leagues of country, and it required two days to assemble his forces. He ought to have advanced his headquarters to Fleurus on the 15th, to have concentrated the cantonments of his army within a radius of 8 leagues, with advanced guards on the debouches of the Meuse and the Sambre. His army would then

have been collected at Ligny on the 15th, at noon, there to await the attack of the French army, or to march against it in the evening of that day, to drive it into the Sambre.

'2. But Marshal Blucher, though surprised, persisted in assembling his army on the heights of Ligny, behind Fleurus; thus braving the chance of being attacked before his troops could be brought up to that position. On the morning of the 16th he had got together only two corps, and the French army was already at Fleurus. The third corps joined during the day, but the 4th, under the command of Gen. Bulow, could not come up in time to take part in the battle. Marshal Blucher, as soon as he knew that the French were at Charleroi, ought not to have fixed for the rallying point of his army either Fleurus or Ligny, which was already under the cannon of his enemy, but Wavre, whither the French could not arrive until the 17th. He would besides thus have had all the day and the night of the 16th to collect the whole of his army.

'3. After losing the battle of Ligny, the Prussian General, instead of making his retreat on Wavre, should have effected it on the army of the Duke of Wellington, either on Quatre-Bras, as the position was maintained, or on Waterloo. The retreat of Marshal Blucher, on the morning of the 17th, was altogether absurd, since the two armies, which were on the evening of the 16th only 3000 toises distant from each other, with the communication of an excellent high road, by which they might consider themselves as united, became on the evening of the 17th more than 10,000 toises distant, and were separated by defiles and impracticable roads.

'The Prussian General violated the three great principles of war: 1. To approximate his cantonments. 2. To assign as the rallying point a place at which all his troops could arrive before the enemy. 3. To operate his retreat on his reinforcements.

'*Seventh Observation.*—1. The Duke of Wellington was surprised in his cantonments. He ought to have concentrated them on the 15th, at eight leagues around Brussels, placing advanced guards on the debouches of Flanders. The French army had manœuvred for three days before his advance, and 24 hours had expired since it commenced hostilities. Its headquarters had been for 12 hours at Charleroi, while the English General remained ignorant of all this at Brussels, and the cantonments of his army still occupied in full security an extent of 20 leagues.

'2. The Prince of Saxe-Weimar, whose corps formed part of the Anglo-Dutch army, was on the 15th, at 4 in the evening, in position in front of Frasne, and knew that the French army was at Charleroi. Had he immediately sent off an Aide-de-Camp to Brussels he might have arrived there by six in the evening, and yet the Duke of Wellington was not informed of the French army being at Charleroi until 11 o'clock. Thus he lost five hours, when his situation and the man opposed to him rendered the loss of a single hour of great importance.

'3. The infantry, the cavalry, and the artillery of that army, being separately cantoned, the infantry was engaged at Quatre-Bras without either cavalry or artillery; these troops had thus to sustain a great loss, as they were obliged to keep in close column to make head against the charges of the cuirassiers, under a fire of fifty pieces of cannon. Those brave men were therefore slaughtered, without cavalry to protect them, and without artillery to avenge them. As the three kinds

of military force cannot for a moment dispense with the support of each other, they ought always to be so cantoned and posted as to be able to afford reciprocal assistance.

'4. The English General, though surprised, assigned Quatre-Bras for the rallying point of his army, though that position had been for 24 hours in the possession of the French. He exposed his troops to be partially defeated in proportion as they might arrive. The danger to which he exposed them was even still more serious, since he made them advance without artillery and cavalry; he delivered up his infantry, in fragments, unsupported by the other two weapons of war, to its enemy. The point for assembling his army should have been Waterloo. He would thus have had all the 16th, and all the night of that day to the 17th, which would have been sufficient for collecting the whole of his army, infantry, cavalry, and artillery. The French could not arrive till the 17th, and then would have found all his army in position.

'*Eighth Observation.*—1. On the 18th the English General gave battle at Waterloo. This conduct was contrary to the interests of his nation, to the general plan of the war adopted by the Allies; and he violated all the rules of war. It was not the interest of England, which needs so many men to recruit her armies in India, her American colonies, and her other vast establishments, to rush wantonly into a murderous contest, which might occasion the loss of her only army, or at least cause her best blood to be shed. The plan of the Allies was to act in mass, and not to engage in any partial affair. Nothing was more contrary to their interest and their plan, than to expose the success of their cause to the chances of a battle with nearly equal forces, where all the probabilities were against them. Had the Anglo-Dutch army been destroyed at Waterloo, what advantage could the Allies have derived from their numerous armies which were preparing to pass the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees?

'2. The English General in resolving to fight the battle of Waterloo, founded his resolution only on the co-operation of the Prussians; but that co-operation could not take place until the afternoon. Accordingly he remained exposed singly, from four in the morning till five in the evening, that is to say, during thirteen hours. A battle usually does not last more than six hours. This co-operation was therefore illusory.

'But in reckoning on the co-operation of the Prussians, he must have supposed that the whole of the French army was opposed to him; in that case, he expected to defend his field of battle for thirteen hours with 90,000 troops of different nations against 104,000 French. This calculation was clearly erroneous. He could not have maintained his position three hours; everything would have been decided by eight in the morning, and the Prussians would only have arrived to fall into a snare. In one day both armies would have been destroyed. If he calculated that a part of the French army had, according to the rules of war, followed the Prussian army, it must then have been evident to him, that he could have no assistance from it, and that the Prussians, after being beaten at Ligny, with the loss of from 25,000 to 30,000 men, and with 20,000 of them dispersed and pursued by between 30,000 and 00 victorious French, could scarcely be expected to maintain themselves. In this case the Anglo-Dutch army alone would have had to sustain the attack of 60,000 French during the whole of the 18th, and there is no Englishman but will admit that the result of such a contest

could not be doubtful, and that their army was not so constituted as to withstand the shock of the Imperial army for four hours.

'During the night of the 17th the weather was extremely bad, which rendered the ground impracticable till nine in the morning. This loss of six hours from daybreak was all to the advantage of the enemy; but could the General make the fate of such a contest depend on the weather of that night? Marshal Grouchy, with 34,000 men and 108 pieces of cannon, discovered the secret, which seemed indiscoverable, not to be on the 18th either on the field of battle of Mont St. Jean or at Wavre. But had the English General the conviction that this Marshal would wander out of his way in this manner? The conduct of Marshal Grouchy was as impossible to be foreseen, as if upon the road his army had experienced an earthquake that swallowed it up.

'*Recapitulation.*—If Marshal Grouchy had been on the field of battle at Mont St. Jean, as the English and the Prussian Generals believed, during the whole of the night of the 17th, and the morning of the 18th, and if the weather had permitted the French army to be drawn up in battle array at 4 in the morning, before 7 o'clock the Anglo-Dutch army would have been cut to pieces, dispersed, and entirely destroyed. If the weather had only permitted the French army to range itself in order of battle at 10 o'clock, by 1 the Anglo-Dutch army would have been undone. Its remains would have been driven beyond the forest, or in the direction of Hal, and we should have had time in the evening to encounter Marshal Blucher, and to inflict upon him a similar fate. If Marshal Grouchy had encamped before Wavre on the night of the 17th, the Prussian army could have sent no detachment to save the English army, and the latter would have been completely beaten by the 69,000 French opposed to it.

'3. The position of Mont St. Jean was badly chosen. The first condition of a field of battle is to have no defiles in the rear. During the battle, the English General could derive no aid from his numerous cavalry. He did not believe that he would be, or could be, attacked on the left. He imagined that he would be attacked on the right. In spite of the diversion made in his favour, by the 30,000 Prussians under Bulow, he would have twice made his retreat during the day, had it been possible; thus, in fact, by a strange caprice of human affairs, the bad choice of the field of battle, which rendered his retreat impossible, was the cause of his success.

'*Ninth Observation.*—1. It will be asked, what, then, ought the English General to have done after the battle of Ligny and the engagement at Quatre-Bras? Posterity will not form true opinions. He should have traversed in the night of the 17th the forest of Soignes, on the high road of Charleroi: the Prussian army should, in the same manner, have passed along that of Wavre: the two armies should have united at daybreak on Brussels, should have left the rear-guard to defend the forest, should have gained some days to allow time to the Prussians, who were dispersed after the battle of Ligny, to rejoin their army; should have procured the reinforcement of the 14 English regiments that garrisoned the fortresses of Belgium, and had landed at Ostend on their return from America; and should have allowed the Emperor of the French to manœuvre as he pleased. Would he, with an army of 100,000 men, have traversed the forest of Soignes to attack at its debouches the two united armies, more than 200,000 strong, and

in position? This certainly would have been the most advantageous course for the Allies. Would he have been contented to take up a position himself? In that case his inactivity could not have been long, as 300,000 Russians, Austrians, Bavarians, &c., had arrived on the Rhine, and who would soon have been on the Marne, and obliged him to retreat for the defence of his capital. Then the Anglo-Prussian army should have marched and joined the Allies before Paris. It would have run no hazard; it would have experienced no loss; it would have acted conformably to the interests of the English nation, to the general plan adopted by the Allies, and to the rules of the art of war. From the 15th to the 18th the Duke of Wellington constantly manœuvred as his army desired, and did nothing which it was feared he would do. The English infantry was firm and solid. The cavalry might have acted better. The Anglo-Dutch army was twice saved on the 18th by the Prussians; first, by the arrival of General Bulow, before 3 o'clock, with 30,000 men, and, secondly, by the arrival of Marshal Blucher with 31,000 men. On that day 69,000 Frenchmen beat 120,000 men. The victory was snatched from them between 8 and 9 o'clock, but it was by 150,000 men. Let any one imagine the looks of the people of London at the moment when they should have heard the catastrophe of their army, and learned that they lavished their purest blood to support the cause of Kings against nations—of privileges against equality—of oligarchs against Liberals—of the principles of the Holy Alliance against those of the sovereignty of the people.'

'Times,' January 28, 1820.

BUONAPARTE'S MEMOIRS OF THE HUNDRED DAYS.

We yesterday gave extracts from this work, stating Buonaparte's opinion of the talents of the Generals by whom he was opposed and defeated, as evinced in their conduct on the memorable 18th of June, 1815, and throughout the short campaign. Our extract of to-day precedes that of yesterday. The details of the grand engagements are familiar to every one; yet it may be well believed that Buonaparte's account of it materially differs from that of others; we therefore, here present it without further preamble:—

'During the night the Emperor gave all the orders necessary for the battle of the next day, although everything induced him to believe that it would not take place. In four days from the commencement of hostilities, he had by the most skilful manœuvres surprised his enemies, gained a splendid victory, and separated the English and Prussian armies. In doing this, he had done much for his glory, but not enough for the security of his position. The delay of three hours, which the left wing of his army had sustained in executing its operations, had prevented him from making the attack which he had intended to have made upon the Anglo-Dutch army, and which, if

made, would at once have put an end to the whole campaign. It was really probable that the Duke of Wellington and Marshal Blucher would have availed themselves of that very night to cross the forest of Soignes, and to join their forces before Brussels. After that junction, which might have been made by 9 o'clock in the morning, the position of the French army would have been rendered very delicate. The two armies opposed to it would have been strengthened by all the force which they had in their rear. Six thousand English soldiers had been landed at Ostend for some few days, and formed only part of the troops who were returning from America. It would have been impossible for the French army to risk the danger of crossing the forest of Soignes, in order to fight on leaving its defiles (*au débouché*) with troops more than double their numbers, and drawn up in strong position; and, besides, in a few weeks, the Russian, Austrian, Bavarian, &c., armies would have passed the Rhine to establish themselves upon the Marne. The fifth corps, which was posted in Alsace as an army of observation, did not consist of more than 25,000 men.

'At one o'clock in the morning, fully occupied by these important considerations, the Emperor left his tent on foot, attended only by his Grand-Marshal: his intention was to follow the retreat of the English army, and to endeavour to make a dash at it, notwithstanding the darkness of the night, as soon as it should have commenced its march. He travelled through the line of main guards. The forest of Soignes appeared like a grand conflagration; the horizon between that forest, Braine-la-Leud, the farms of La Belle Alliance and La Haye, shone with the fire of the bivouacs: the most profound silence everywhere prevailed. The Anglo-Dutch army was buried in deep sleep, in consequence of the fatigues which it had undergone on the preceding day. On reaching the woods of Hougomont, he heard the sounds of a column in march: it was then half-past two o'clock. At that hour the rear-guard was to commence leaving its position, if the enemy were to be on the retreat: the idea that they were so was, however, short. The sounds ceased: the rain fell in torrents. Different officers who had been sent out to reconnoitre, and other persons on whom reliance could be placed, returned at half-past three o'clock, and confirmed the intelligence that the English and Dutch were not making any movements. At four o'clock the patrols brought to him a peasant who had acted as guide to a brigade of English cavalry, which had taken up its position on the extreme left of the village of Ohain. Two Belgian deserters, who had just quitted their regiment, informed him that their army was preparing for battle, that no retrograde movement had taken place, that Belgium offered up prayers for the success of the Emperor, and that its inhabitants equally detested both the English and the Prussians.

'The enemy's General could not have taken any step more contrary to the interests of his cause and of his nation, to the general plan of the campaign, and even to the simplest rules of war, than that which he took when he determined to remain in the position which he then occupied. He had behind him the defiles of the forest of Soignes, so that, if he had been beaten, he would have found it impossible to retreat. The French troops bivouacked in the midst of the dirt: the officers deemed it impossible to give battle that day; the artillery and cavalry could not manœuvre on the ground on account of its extreme

wetness: and it was reckoned that twelve hours of fine weather would be wanted to make it again dry. The day began to dawn; the Emperor returned to his quarters, extremely rejoiced by the great blunder which the enemy's General had committed, but extremely chagrined that the bad weather prevented him from turning it to his own advantage. But already the atmosphere was clearing up: at 5 o'clock he perceived some weak rays of that sun which ought, before its setting, to have shone upon the destruction of the English army. The oligarchy of Britain would then have been overthrown for ever, and France would have raised her head on that day more great, more glorious, and more powerful than ever.

'The Anglo-Dutch army was drawn up in line of battle upon the high road from Charleroi to Brussels, in front of the forest of Soignes, and crowned a very noble platform. The right wing, consisting of the first and second English divisions, and the division of Brunswick, commanded by Generals Cook and Clinton, rested upon a ravine on the other side of the road to Nivelle, and occupied with a detachment the *château d'Hougomont* as an advanced post. The centre, composed of the third English, and the first and second Belgian division, commanded by Generals Alten, Collaert, and Chasse, was in advance of Mont St. Jean: its left rested on the high road to Charleroi, and occupied with one of its brigades the farm of La Haye Sainte. The left wing, composed of the 5th and 6th English, and the 3rd Belgian division, commanded by Generals Picton, Lambert, and Perchaucher, had its right rested on the high road to Charleroi, and its left posted behind the village of La Haye, which it occupied with a strong detachment. The reserve was at Mont St. Jean, which is the point of intersection of the high roads from Charleroi and Nivelle to Brussels. The cavalry, formed in three lines on the heights of Mont St. Jean, was drawn up in the rear of the line of the battle, the length of which was about 2500 toises. The front of the enemy was defended by the natural difficulty of the ground. The platform was in its centre slightly concave, and after a gentle declivity ended in a ravine of more considerable depth. The 4th English division, commanded by General Colville, occupied as flankers on the right of the mouth of every defile (*tous les debouches*) from Hal to Braine la Leud. A brigade of English cavalry occupied as flankers on the left the months of all the defiles from the village of Ohain. The forces which the enemy displayed were estimated at different numbers: but the officers most versed in the estimate of numbers, reckoned them with the flankers at 90,000 men, which agreed with our previous information. The French army consisted of only 69,000 men; but the victory did not appear on that account to be less certain. These 69,000 men were good troops; and in the enemy's army it was only the English, who did not amount to 40,000 men at most, that could by any means be considered as such.

'At 8 o'clock his breakfast was served up to the Emperor in the presence of many general officers. He said, "The enemy's army is superior to our own almost by one-fourth of its numbers. We have not less than 90 chances for, and scarcely 10 against us." "Doubtless," said Marshal Ney, who entered at the moment, "if the Duke of Wellington is simple enough to wait for your Majesty; but I come to inform you that his columns are already in full retreat, and are now disappearing in the forest." "You have not seen rightly," replied the

Emperor to him; "the time for his retreating has passed: if he were to attempt it, he would expose himself to certain destruction; he has already thrown the dice, and they have turned up in our favour." At this moment some officers of artillery, who had been galloping over the field, brought information that the artillery could manœuvre, although with some difficulty, which seemed likely to undergo great diminution in the course of an hour. Immediately afterwards the Emperor was on horseback: he rode to the tirailleurs posted opposite La Haye Sainte, reconnoitred afresh the enemy's line, and commanded General Haxo, an officer in whom he placed confidence, to approach it and see whether any redoubts or intrenchments had been raised. In a short time that General returned, and informed him that he did not perceive the marks of any fortification. The Emperor reflected for a quarter of an hour, and then dictated the order of battle, which was written out by two Generals, seated on the ground. The Aides-de-camp carried it to the different divisions of the army, which were now under arms and full of impatience and ardour. The army then moved, and commenced its march in eleven columns.

'II. These eleven columns were destined, four of them to form the first line, four to form the second, and three the third. The four columns of the first line were, first, that of the left formed by the cavalry of the second corps; the second formed by three divisions of infantry of the second corps; the third by the four divisions of infantry of the first corps; the fourth by the light cavalry of the first corps. The four columns of the second line were, first, that of the left formed by Kellermann's corps of cuirassiers; the second by the two divisions of infantry of the sixth corps; the third by two divisions of light cavalry; the one of the sixth corps commanded by the General of Division Daumont, the other detached from the corps of General Pajol, and commanded by the General of Division Subervie; the fourth by the corps of cuirassiers of Milland. The three columns of the third line were, that of the left, formed by the divisions of horse-grenadiers and dragoon-guards, commanded by General Guyot; the second, by three divisions of the old, middle, and young Guard, commanded by Lieutenant-Generals Friant, Morand, and Duchesne; the third, by the horse-chasseurs, and the lancers of the Guard, commanded by Lieutenant-General Le Fevre Desnouettes. The artillery advanced on the flanks of the columns; the parks and the baggage in the rear.

'At 9 o'clock, the heads of the four columns, forming the first line, arrived where they were to deploy. At the same time we perceived at a greater or less distance the seven other columns, which debouched from the heights. They were marching; the trumpets and drums resounded through the field; the music played airs which recalled to the soldiers the recollection of a hundred victories; the ground appeared proud of bearing so many gallant men. The spectacle was magnificent; and the enemy, who were placed in a situation to observe the most distant individual, must have been struck by it. Our army must have appeared to them double the number of that which it really was.

'These 11 columns deployed with such precision, that there was no confusion, and each occupied the place which had been allotted to it in the designs of the chief: never were so great masses moved with such facility. The light cavalry of the 2nd corps, which formed the first

column on the left of the first line, deployed on three lines on the high road of Nivelle leading to Brussels, near the heights of the first wood belonging to the park of Hougomont, observing all the plain on the left, and extending a strong guard to Braine La Leud; its battery of light artillery was on the high road of Nivelle. The 2nd corps, under the orders of General Reille, occupied the space included between the high road of Nivelle and that of Charleroi, which was an extent of between 900 and 1,000 toises: the division of Prince Jerome occupied the left, near the high road of Nivelle and the wood of Hougomont; General Foy for the centre; and General Bachelu the right, who reached the high road of Charleroi, near the farmhouse of La Belle Alliance. Each division of infantry was drawn up in two lines, the second 30 toises from the first, having its artillery, in front and its parks in the rear, near the road of Nivelle. The third column, formed by the first corps, and commanded by Lieut.-General Count d'Erlon, rested its left on La Belle Alliance, on the right of the road of Charleroi, and its right opposite the farm of La Haye, where it was opposed to the left of the enemy. Each division of infantry was in two lines, with its artillery in the intervals of the brigade. Its light cavalry, which formed a new column, deployed by its right in three lines, observing La Haye, Frischermont, and sending out posts upon Ohain to observe the flank parties of the enemy; its light artillery was upon its right.

'The first line was scarcely formed when the heads of the four columns of the second line arrived at the point where they were to deploy. The cuirassiers of Kellerman formed themselves in two lines, the one at 30 toises from the other, resting their left on the Nivelle road, 100 toises from the second line of the second corps, and their right on the road of Charleroi. The space occupied was 1,100 toises. One of their batteries was placed on the left, near the Nivelle road; the other upon the right, near the road of Charleroi. The second column, commanded by Lieut.-General Count Robau, was stationed 50 toises in the rear of the second line of the 2nd corps: it rested in close column, occupying about 100 toises in depth, along, and by the left of the road of Charleroi, with a distance of 10 toises between the two columns of division, with its artillery on its left flank. The 3rd column, that of the light cavalry, commanded by the General of Division Daumont, followed by that of General Subervie, placed itself in close column by squadrons, the left resting on the Charleroi road, opposite its infantry, from which it was only separated by the road; its light artillery was upon its right flank. The 4th column, the corps of cuirassiers, Milhaud, deployed in two lines, 32 toises distant from each other, and 100 toises behind the second line of the first corps, its left resting on the road of Charleroi, and its right in the direction of Frischermont: it occupied a space of about 900 toises; its batteries were upon its left (near the Charleroi road), and upon its centre.

'Before the second line was formed, the heads of the three columns of the reserve arrived at the points where they were to deploy. The heavy cavalry of the Guard were placed 100 toises behind Kellerman, drawn up in two lines at 30 toises distant from each other, the left on the side of the Nivelle road, the right on that of Charleroi, having its artillery in its centre. The column of the centre, formed by the

infantry of the Guard, deployed on six lines, each of 4 battalions, at the distance of 10 toises from each other, posted on the road of Charleroi, and a little in front of the farm of Rossomme. The batteries of artillery belonging to the different regiments were ranged on the left and the right; that of the reserve both stationary and flying behind the lines; the third column—namely, the mounted chasseurs and lancers of the Guard—deployed on two lines, at 30 toises distant from each other, 100 toises behind General Milhaud, its left on the Charleroi road, and its right on the side of Frischermont, with its light artillery in the centre. At half-past 10, incredible as it may appear, all the movements were finished; all the troops were in their stations; the profoundest silence reigned over the field of battle. The army was ranged in six lines, forming six figures of V; the two first consisting of infantry, with light cavalry on their wings, the third and the fourth of cuirassiers, the fifth and sixth of the cavalry of the Guard, with six lines of infantry of the Guard, perpendicularly placed at the apex of the six V's, and the sixth corps in close column perpendicularly to the lines which the Guards occupied. The infantry on the left of the road, and the cavalry on the right. The high roads of Charleroi and Nivelle were free; they afforded the means of communication by which the reserve artillery might rapidly advance to the different points of the line.

'The Emperor rode through the ranks: it would be difficult to express the enthusiasm of the soldiers. The infantry raised their caps on the point of their bayonets; the cuirassiers, dragoons, and light cavalry, their helmets or caps on the point of their sabres. Victory appeared certain—the old soldiers, who had been engaged in numerous actions, admired this new order of battle; they endeavoured to discover the ulterior views of their General; they discussed the point and the manner in which the attack ought to take place. Meanwhile the Emperor gave his final orders, and proceeded at the head of his guard to the apex of the 6 V's, upon the heights of Rossomme, where he alighted. From that point he saw the two armies; the view extended a great way to the right and left of the field of battle.

'A battle is like a drama, and should have its beginning, middle, and end. The order of battle which the two armies take, and their first movements, in order to come into action, are the opening scenes: the counter-movements, which the attacked army make, form the nodus, which gives rise to new arrangements, and brings on the crisis, whence originates the result or dénouement. As soon as the attack of the centre of the French army had been unmasked, the enemy's General should have made counter-movements, either by his wings, or in the rear of his lines, to make a diversion, or hasten to support the point attacked. None of these movements escaped the practised eye of Napoleon in the central position in which he was placed; and he had at hand all his reserves, for the purpose of directing them at pleasure wherever the urgency of circumstances might require their presence.

'III. Ten divisions of artillery, among which were three divisions of 12-pounders, were collected, their left resting at the high road of Charleroi, on the hillock beyond Belle Alliance, and in front of the division of the left of the 1st corps. They were intended to support the attack of La Haye Sainte, which was to be made by two divisions

of the 1st corps and two divisions of the 6th, at the same time that the other two divisions of the 1st corps should proceed on La Haye. By this means the whole left of the enemy would be turned. The divisions of light cavalry of the 6th corps, in close column, and that of the 1st corps which was on its wing, were to take part in that attack, which the second and third lines of cavalry were to support, as well as all the foot and horse guards.

'The French army, in possession of La Haye and Mont St. Jean, cut off from the high road of Brussels the right of the English army, which included its principal forces. The Emperor had preferred turning the left of the enemy rather than his right, first, in order to cut off his communication with the Prussians, who were at Wavre, and to oppose their junction if they should have intended it; but even though they should not have intended it, if the attack had been made on the right, the English army, in case of repulse, would have fallen back on the Prussian army; whereas, the attack being made on the left separated them from the Prussians, and drove them in the direction of the sea; secondly, because the left appeared much the weakest; thirdly, because the Emperor expected every moment the arrival of a detachment from Marshal Grouchy on his right, and would not run the risk of being separated from it.

'While everything was preparing for this decisive attack, Prince Jerome's division on the left commenced an attack of musketry on the woods of Hougomont, which soon became very brisk. The enemy having unmasked nearly forty pieces of artillery, General Reille advanced the artillery of his second division, and the Emperor sent orders to General Kellerman to advance his twelve pieces of light artillery. The cannonade soon became very heavy. Prince Jerome carried the wood of Hougomont several times, and was as often driven out of it. It was defended by a division of the English guards, the enemy's best troops, which we saw with pleasure on their right, as it rendered more easy the great attack on the left. Foy's division supported Prince Jerome's division, and each performed prodigies of valour. The bodies of the English guards covered the wood and the avenues of the Château d'Hougomont, but not without dearly selling their blood. After different vicissitudes, which occupied several hours of the day, the wood remained completely in possession of the French; but the château, which had been fortified, and had been occupied by several hundreds of brave men, opposed an invincible resistance. The Emperor ordered up a battery of eight howitzers, which set fire to the barns and the roofs, and made the French masters of this position. Marshal Ney had the honour of directing the grand attack of the centre. It could not be intrusted to a man of more bravery, or more accustomed to this kind of operation. He sent one of his aides-de-camp to give notice that all was ready, and that he waited only for the signal to engage. Before giving it, the Emperor wished to cast a last look over all the field of battle, and perceived in the direction of St. Lambert a speck, which appeared to him to be troops. He said to his Major-General: "Marshal, what do you see towards St. Lambert?"—"I think I see 5,000 or 6,000 men. It is probably a detachment from Grouchy." All the glasses of the staff were then fixed upon this point. The weather was hazy. Some contended, as it usually happens on such occasions, that it was not

troops but trees; others that it was troops in position; and others that it was troops in march. In this uncertainty, without further deliberation, he called for General Daumont, and ordered him to advance with his light cavalry, and that of General Subervie to scour his right, to communicate promptly with the troops which had arrived at St. Lambert, to effect a junction with them if they belonged to Marshal Grouchy, and to hold them in check if they belonged to the enemy. These 3,000 cavalry had only to make a turn to the right to be beyond the lines of the army. They advanced rapidly, and without confusion, 3,000 toises, and then formed in line of battle, *en potence*, on the whole right of the army.

'IV. A quarter of an hour after, an officer of chasseurs brought in a Prussian hussar, who had just been made prisoner by the scouts of a flying column of 300 chasseurs, who were scouring the road between Wavre and Planchenoit. This hussar was the bearer of a letter. He was very intelligent, and communicated all the information that could be desired. The column which was perceived at St. Lambert was the advanced guard of the Prussian General Bulow, who was approaching with 30,000 men, who composed the four Prussian corps which had not fought at Ligny. The letter contained in fact a notice of the arrival of this corps; and requested, on the part of Gen. Bulow, further orders from the Duke of Wellington. The hussar said he had been that morning at Wavre; that the three other corps of the Prussian army were there encamped; that they had there passed the night of the 17th; that there was not a single Frenchman before them; that he imagined the French had marched upon Planchenoit, and that a patrol of his regiment had been, during the night, within two leagues of Wavre without meeting any French corps. The Duke of Dalmatia immediately dispatched the intercepted letter of the hussar to Marshal Grouchy, reiterating the order to march immediately on St. Lambert, and to take the corps of General Bulow in the rear. It was now eleven o'clock; the officer had only four or five leagues to go, the whole way was on good road, in order to meet Marshal Grouchy. He promised to be up with him in an hour. By the last intelligence received from the Marshal, it was known that he would at break of day proceed to Wavre, and from Gembloux to Wavre the distance is only three leagues. Although he had not therefore received the orders dispatched in the night from the Imperial headquarters, he must indubitably have been met with when before Wavre. Glasses directed towards that point descried nothing: not even the report of a cannon was heard. A little afterwards General Daumont sent to mention that some scouts, well mounted, had met the enemy's patrol in the direction of St. Lambert; that it might be considered as certain that the troops which they saw were enemies; that he had sent select patrols in several directions to communicate with Marshal Grouchy, and to carry for him intelligence and orders.

'The Emperor immediately ordered Count Lobau to pass the Charleroi road, by a change of direction to the right in division, and to proceed in support of the light cavalry towards the side of St. Lambert, to choose a good intermediate position wherever he could, and with 10,000 men to check 30,000, if that became necessary; to attack vigorously the Prussians, as soon as he should hear the first cannon-shot from the troops which Marshal Grouchy had detached to their

rear. These dispositions were immediately executed. It was of the highest importance that the movement of General Lobau should take place without delay. Marshal Grouchy must have detached from Wavre 6,000 or 7,000 men towards St. Lambert, whose safety might be endangered, since the corps of General Bulow amounted to 30,000 men. Thus the whole of General Bulow's corps would be compromised and lost if, at the moment when it was attacked in the rear by 6,000 or 7,000 men, it were likewise attacked in front by an officer of Count Lobau's character. 17,000 or 18,000 Frenchmen, disposed and commanded in this manner, would be far superior to 30,000 Prussians; but these events effected a change in the first plan of the Emperor; he found himself weakened on the field of battle by the deduction of the 10,000 men whom he was obliged to send against Bulow. He had only therefore 59,000 men against 90,000; thus the army of the enemy against which he had to contend had been increased by 30,000 men already arrived on the field of battle. It now amounted to 120,000 men against 69,000, or made nearly 2 against 1. "We had in the morning," said the Emperor to the Duke of Dalmatia, "ninety chances of victory in our favour; the arrival of Bulow has lost us thirty of them; but we have still sixty against forty; and if General Grouchy repairs the horrible fault he yesterday committed, by amusing himself at Gembloux, and sends a detachment with rapidity, the victory will be more decisive, for the corps or [of ?] Bulow will be entirely destroyed."

'No anxiety was felt for Marshal Grouchy. After the detachment which he would be able to send to St. Lambert, he would still have 27,000 or 28,000 men, and the three corps which Marshal Blucher had at Wavre, and which when before Ligny amounted to 90,000 men, had been reduced to 40,000; not only by the loss of 30,000 which he had experienced in battle, but likewise by that of 20,000 men, who had deserted, and were plundering the banks of the Meuse, and by some detachments, with which that Marshal was obliged to protect these districts, as well as his baggage, which lay in the direction of Namur and Liège. Now, 40,000 or 45,000 Prussians, beaten and disheartened, could not overawe 28,000 Frenchmen well posted and victorious.'

[*To be continued.*]

'Times,' February 4, 1820.

BUONAPARTE'S MEMOIRS OF THE HUNDRED DAYS.

(*Concluded from last Friday's paper.*)

'V. It was noon: the sharp-shooters were engaged along the whole of the line; but the action was really fought only on the left, in the wood and at the Château of Hougomont. On the extreme right, the troops of General Bulow were still stationary; they appeared to be forming, and waiting until their artillery should pass the defile. The

Emperor sent orders to Marshal Ney to open the fire of his batteries, to take possession of the farm of the Haye Sainte and to post a division of infantry there; to take possession also of the village of La Haye, and to dislodge the enemy, in order to intercept all communication between the Anglo-Dutch army and the corps of General Bulow; 24 pieces of ordnance spread death over the whole left of the English line. One of the divisions was entirely destroyed by ball and grape shot. Whilst this attack was unmasked the Emperor observed with attention the movements of the enemy's General. He made none upon his right, but it was perceived that he was making arrangements on his left for a grand charge of cavalry. He advanced at a gallop. The charge had taken place. It had repulsed a column of infantry which was advancing to the right, had taken from it two eagles, and dismounted seven pieces of cannon. The Emperor then ordered a brigade of General Milhaud's cuirassiers of the 2nd line to charge the English cavalry. This brigade set out with cries of *Vive l'Empereur*. The order of the English cavalry was broken, and the greater part remained on the field of battle; the French cannon were retaken, and the infantry protected. Different charges of infantry and cavalry then took place, the details of which belong more to the history of each regiment than to the general history of the battle, in which their multiplied recitals would only produce confusion. It is sufficient to say, that after three hours' fighting, the farm of La Haye Sainte, in spite of the resistance of the Scotch regiments, was occupied by the French infantry, and the object which the French General promised himself was obtained: the 5th and 6th English divisions were destroyed, and General Picton remained dead on the field of battle.

'The Emperor during this contest traversed the line of infantry of the 1st corps, the cavalry line of Milhaud's cuirassiers, and that of the guard in the third line, under a fire of cannon-balls, grape-shot, and howitzers. The shot rebounded from one line to the other. The brave General Devaux, who commanded the artillery, was killed at the Emperor's side. This was a great loss, particularly at the present moment, as that General knew better than any other the positions occupied by the reserves of the artillery of the Guard, amounting to 96 pieces of cannon. General of Brigade, Lallemand, succeeded him, and was soon afterwards wounded.

'Disorder prevailed in the English army; the baggage, the carriages, and the wounded, seeing the French approach the high road upon Brussels, and the principal debouch of the forest, rushed in crowds to effect their retreat. All the fugitive English, Belgians, and Germans, that had been sabred by the cavalry, threw themselves on Brussels. It was now 4 o'clock, and the victory would then have been decided, but at this moment the corps of General Bulow operated its powerful diversion. Since 2 o'clock General Daumont had intimated that General Bulow was debouching in three columns; and that the French chasseurs kept up an irregular fire, while retreating before the enemy, who appeared very numerous; he calculated Bulow's force at 40,000 men; he further stated that his scouts, well mounted, had rode several leagues in different directions, but had brought back no news of Marshal Grouchy; that no reliance could therefore be placed on him. During the same time the Emperor received very disagreeable news from Gembloux. Marshal Grouchy, instead of having left that place

at daybreak, as he had announced he would, in his despatch, dated at 2 in the morning, had not quitted it at 10 o'clock. The officer attributed this to the bad weather—a most absurd reason. This inexcusable slowness in such delicate circumstances, by so zealous an officer, is inexplicable.

'VI. Meanwhile the cannonade soon commenced between General Bulow and Count Lobau. The Prussian army marched in échelons, the centre in front. This line of battle was perpendicular to the right flank of the army, parallel to the high road from the Haye-Sainte to Planchenoit. The centre échelon unmasked about thirty pieces of cannon. The artillery opposed an equal number to him. After one hour's cannonade, Count Lobau, perceiving that the first échelon was not supported, advanced upon it, broke it, and drove it back a considerable way; but the other two lines, which appeared to have been retarded by the bad roads, rallied the first échelon, and, without endeavouring to penetrate the first line, endeavoured to come into battle by extending to the left. Count Lobau, fearing to be turned, effected his retreat *en échiquier*, approximating himself to the army. The fire of the Prussian batteries redoubled. They were reckoned to mount sixty pieces of cannon. The balls fell on the high road in front and rear of Belle Alliance, where the Emperor was with his guard. This was the line of operation of the army. At the most critical moment the enemy had approached so closely that his shot ploughed the road. The Emperor then ordered General Duhesme, who commanded the Young Guard, to proceed to the right of the 6th corps, with his two brigades of infantry and twenty-four pieces of the Guard artillery; a quarter of an hour after this formidable battery commenced its fire. The French artillery soon obtained the superiority; it was better served, and better mounted. As soon as the Young Guard was engaged, the movement of the Prussians appeared to be stopped. A wavering was observed in their line. They still, however, continued to extend it on their left, out-flanking the French right, and reaching as far as the height of Planchenoit. Lieutenant-General Morand then advanced with four battalions of the Old Guard and sixteen pieces of cannon to the right of the Young Guard. Two regiments of the Old Guard took position in front of Planchenoit, the Prussian line was then out-flanked; General Bulow was repulsed, his left made a movement towards the near (rear?), and the whole of his line gradually fell back. Count Lobau, General Duhesme, and General Morand now advanced, and speedily occupied the positions which had before been occupied by Bulow's artillery. That General had not only exhausted his attack and unmasked all his reserves, but, checked at first, he was now in retreat. The Prussian bullets not only did not arrive on the Charleroi road, but did not even reach the position which Count Lobau had occupied. It was 7 o'clock in the evening.

'VII. At 2 o'clock Count d'Erlon had taken possession of La Haye; had out-flanked the English left, and General Bulow's right. The light cavalry of the 1st corps, in pursuing the enemy's infantry on the height of La Haye, had been driven back by a superior body of cavalry. Count Milhaud then climbed the height with his cuirassiers, and communicated with General Lefebore Desnouettes, who immediately galloped off to support them. This brings us to 5 o'clock, the moment when the attack of General Bulow was the most menacing; when, far

from being held in check, he constantly displayed fresh troops, which extended his line to the right. The English cavalry was repulsed by the intrepid cuirassiers and the chasseurs of the Guard. The English abandoned all the field of battle between La Haye Sainte and Mont St. Jean, that which their left had occupied, and had fallen back on their right. At the sight of these brilliant charges, cries of victory resounded on the field. The Emperor said, "It is too soon by an hour; however, what is done must be supported." He ordered Kellerman's cuirassiers to advance to support the cavalry on the height. General Bulow was at this moment threatening the flank and the rear of the army. It was important to make no retrograde movement, and to maintain the position which the cavalry had prematurely taken. The movement at a quick trot of 3,000 cuirassiers, who filed off with cries of *Vive l'Empereur*, and under the Prussian cannonade, made a fortunate diversion at this critical moment The cavalry advanced as it were to the pursuit of the English army, but the army of General Bulow was still making progress on the flank and the rear. The soldiers, and even the officers, endeavoured to divine from the looks of the commander whether we were conquering or in danger, but he showed only confidence. It was within twenty years the fiftieth general battle which he had fought. Meanwhile the division of heavy cavalry of the Guard commanded by General Guyot, which was in the second line behind Kellerman's cuirassiers, followed them at a rapid trot and advanced on the height. The Emperor perceived this; he sent Count Bertrand to recall them, as they formed his reserve; but when that General arrived they were already engaged, and any retrograde movement would have been dangerous. Thus after five in the evening the Emperor was deprived of his reserve cavalry, of that reserve which had so often given him victory when well employed. However, these 12,000 select cavalry performed miracles: they overthrew the more numerous cavalry of the enemy who were opposed to them, penetrated several squares of infantry, carried sixty pieces of cannon, and took in the midst of the squares six standards, which three chasseurs of the Guard and three cuirassiers presented to the Emperor, in front of Belle Alliance. For the second time, the enemy considered the battle lost, and saw with alarm the difficulties which the bad field of battle he had chosen must present to his retreat. Ponsonby's brigade, charged by the red lancers of the Guard, was broken; its General fell, pierced by seven lance wounds. The Prince of Orange was on the point of being taken, and was severely wounded. However, this brave cavalry, receiving no support from a strong mass of infantry which was still kept in check by General Bulow's attack, was obliged to confine itself to maintaining the field of battle which it had conquered. Finally, at 7 o'clock, when the attack of General Bulow was repulsed and the cavalry still kept possession of the height which they had conquered, victory was gained: 69,000 French had defeated 120,000 men. Joy was in every countenance, and hope in every heart. This sentiment succeeded to the astonishment which had prevailed during the continuance of the attack on the left flank made by a complete army, and which for an hour had even threatened to endanger the retreat of the French army. At this moment the cannonade of Marshal Grouchy was distinctly heard; it had passed Wavre in the most remote point, and in the nearest point it was behind St. Lambert.

'VIII. Marshal Grouchy, who had not left his camp at Gembloux until 10 in the morning, was between 12 and 1 o'clock half-way on the road to Wavre. He heard the dreadful cannonade of Waterloo. No man of experience could mistake it. It proceeded from several hundred pieces of cannon, and therefore from two armies which were reciprocally sending death to each other. Gen. Excelmans, who commanded the cavalry, was strongly moved by it. He hastened to the Marshal, and said to him, "The Emperor is engaged with the English; it is impossible to doubt it; so terrible a fire cannot be a rencontre. Marshal, we ought to march in the direction of the fire. I am an old soldier of the Army of Italy, and I have a hundred times heard General Buonaparte lay down this principle. If we turn to the left, in two hours we will be on the field of battle." The Marshal replied, "I believe you are right; but if Blucher debouch upon me from Wavre, and take me on the flank, I shall be compromised for not obeying my orders, which are to march against Blucher." At this moment Count Gerard came up to the Marshal, and gave him the same advice as Gen. Excelmans had done. He said, "Your orders direct your being at Wavre yesterday, and not to-day; the surest course is, to march to the field of battle. You cannot but perceive that Blucher has gained a march on you. He was yesterday at Wavre, and you were at Gembloux; but who knows where he is now? If he have joined Wellington we shall find him on the field of battle, and then your orders will be literally executed. If he be not not there, your arrival will decide the battle. In two hours we can take part in the action; and, if we destroy the English army, what can Blucher, who has already been beaten, do?" The Marshal appeared convinced, but at this very instant he received a report that his light cavalry had arrived at Wavre, and were engaged with the Prussians; that all their force was assembled there, and that they amounted to at least 80,000 men. In consequence of this intelligence, he continued his movement on Wavre. He arrived there at 4 in the afternoon. Supposing that the whole Prussian army was before him, he took two hours to form in line of battle, and to make his dispositions. He then received the despatch by the officer who had been sent off to him at 10 in the morning from the field of battle. He detached General Pajol with 12,000 men to Limate, where there was a bridge on the Dyle, one league in the rear of St. Lambert. That General arrived there at 7 in the evening, and crossed the river. Meanwhile Marshal Grouchy attacked Wavre.

'IX. Marshal Blucher passed the night of the 17th at Wavre, with the 4th corps of the army, consisting of 75,000 men. Being informed that the Duke of Wellington had resolved to receive battle in front of the forest of Soignes, if he could rely on his assistance, he detached his 4th corps in the morning, which passed the Dyle at Limate, and united at St. Lambert. This corps was complete; it was the one which had not been engaged at Ligny. Marshal Blucher's light cavalry, which had scoured the road to the distance of two leagues from his camp at Wavre, had heard nothing of Marshal Grouchy; at seven in the morning they saw only some picquets of scouts. Blucher, therefore, concluded that the whole of the French army was assembled before Mont St. Jean. He put the 2nd corps, commanded by General Pirch, in motion. This corps was reduced to 18,000 men. He

marched himself with the 1st corps, that of Gen. Zietten, which was reduced to 13,000 men, and left Gen. Thielman, with the 3rd corps, in position at Wavre.

'The 2nd corps of General Pirch marched by Lasne; and Blucher, with the first corps, marched on Ohain, where, at 6 in the evening, he formed a junction with the brigade of English cavalry which was posted as flankers. He was there informed that Marshal Grouchy was, at 4 o'clock, before Wavre in considerable force, and that he was making preparations for an attack, which the 3rd corps was not in a position to resist. Marshal Blucher had only two courses to take. He leaned on his principal forces, General Bulow and the English, and sent orders to General Thielman to hold out as long as possible, and, if he were forced, to retreat on him. In fact, he was no longer in a situation to return to Wavre. He could only have arrived there in the night, and, if the Anglo-Dutch army was beaten, he would be placed between two fires; whereas, if he continued with that army, and it should gain the victory, he would still have sufficient time to return upon Marshal Grouchy. His movement was very slow, his troops were greatly fatigued, and the roads were bad and full of defiles. These two columns, about 31,000 men strong, opened the communication between General Bulow and the English. The former, who was in full retreat, halted. Wellington, who was in despair, and saw before him only the prospect of a certain defeat, beheld his safety. The brigade of English cavalry, which was at Ohain, rejoined him, as well as a part of the 4th division of the flankers of the right. Had Marshal Grouchy been, as he was ordered, before Wavre on the evening of the 17th, Marshal Blucher would have remained there in observation, with all his forces, because he would believe that he was pursued by the whole of the French army. Had Marshal Grouchy, as he wrote at two in the morning from his camp at Gembloux, marched at daybreak—that is to say, at 4 in the morning—he would not have arrived at Wavre in time to prevent the detachment of General Bulow; but he would have stopped the movement of the other three corps of Marshal Blucher. Victory was still certain; but Marshal Grouchy did not arrive before Wavre until 4 o'clock, and did not make his attack until 6; there was no longer time! The French army, 69,000 strong, which at 7 o'clock in the evening was victorious over an army of 120,000 men, occupied the half of the field of battle of the Anglo-Dutch army, and had repulsed the corps of Gen. Bulow, found victory snatched from it by the arrival of Marshal Blucher with 30,000 fresh troops, which made the English army in line amount to nearly 150,000 men—that is to say, about two and a half against one.

'X. As soon as the attack of Gen. Bulow had been repulsed, the Emperor ordered Gen. Druot, who acted as assistant Major-Gen. of the Guard, to rally all his guards in front of the farm of Belle Alliance, where he was with 8 battalions ranged in 2 lines. The 8 others had marched to support the Young Guard, and to defend Planchenoit. However, the cavalry, which continued to occupy the position on the height, whence it commanded all the field of battle, observed the movement of Gen. Bulow, but placing confidence for checking him in the reserves of the Guard, which were there, felt no disquietude, and shouted "Victory" when the Prussians were repulsed. This cavalry

only looked forward to the arrival of the infantry of the Guard to decide the victory, but was struck with astonishment when the numerous columns of Marshal Blucher were seen advancing. Some regiments made a retrograde movement. The Emperor perceived it. It was of the greatest importance to give confidence to the cavalry, and, seeing that it would require a quarter of an hour to rally the whole of his guard, he put himself at the head of 4 battalions, and advanced on the left, in front of Haye-Sainte, sending some aides-de-camp along the line to announce the arrival of Marshal Grouchy, and to say that with a little more firmness the victory would be secured.

'General Reille assembled his corps on the left, in front of the Château of Hougomont, and prepared his attack. It was important that the Guards should engage all at once, but the other 8 battalions were still in the rear. Overcome by events, seeing the cavalry flagging, and that a reserve of infantry was necessary to support them, he ordered General Friant to advance with these 4 battalions of the middle Guard to meet the attack of the enemy. This gave confidence to the cavalry, and they advanced with their usual intrepidity. The 4 battalions of the Guard drove back everything they met, and the charges of the cavalry carried terror into the English ranks. Ten minutes after, the other battalions of the Guard arrived. The Emperor ranged them in brigades : 2 battalions in line of battle, and 2 in column on the right and left. The 2nd brigade was disposed in échelons, which united the advantage of the two orders of battle. General Friant, who was wounded, passed at this moment. He said that everything was going on well, that the enemy appeared to be forming his rearguard to support his retreat, but that he would be entirely broken as soon as the rest of the Guard should debouch. This required a quarter of an hour. It was precisely at this time that Marshal Blucher arrived at La Haye, and overthrew the French corps which defended it. It was the 4th division of the 1st corps, and was routed after only a slight contest. Though attacked by quadruple its force, had it shown resolution, or fortified itself in the houses, Marshal Blucher, as it was night, would not have had time to force the village. It was here may have been heard the cry of "*Sauve qui peut.*" The breach being made, and the line broken, in consequence of the want of vigour in the troops at La Haye, the enemy's cavalry inundated the field of battle. General Bulow advanced, though Count Lobau maintained a good countenance against him. The confusion, however, became so great that it was necessary to order a change of front in the Guard which had been formed for advancing. This movement was executed in good order. The Guard faced to their rear, the left towards La Haye Sainte, and the right towards Belle Alliance, keeping front to the Prussians and the attack of La Haye. Immediately after, each battalion formed in a square. The four squadrons of service charged the Prussians. At this moment the brigade of English cavalry, which had arrived from Ohain, moved forward. These 2,000 horse penetrated between Gen. Reille and the Guard. The disorder became frightful throughout the whole field of battle. The Emperor had only time to put himself under the protection of one of the squares of the Guard. Had the reserve division of cavalry under General Guyot not engaged without orders after General Kellerman's cuirassiers, it could have repelled this charge, prevented the English cavalry from penetrating into the field of battle, and the foot Guard would

then have held in check all the efforts of the enemy. General Bulow marched on his left, constantly outflanking the field of battle. The night increased the disorder, and prevented every arrangement. Had it been daylight that the troops could have seen the Emperor, they would have rallied, but nothing could be done in the dark. The Guard began to retreat. The fire of the enemy was already 400 toises in the rear, and the roads were occupied. The Emperor and his staff remained for a considerable time on a hillock. Four pieces of cannon which were there kept up a brisk fire on the plain, and their last discharge wounded Lord Paget, General of the English cavalry. Finally, not another moment was to be lost. The Emperor could only make his retreat through the field of battle. The cavalry, artillery, and infantry were all in confusion. The staff gained the little town of Genapes. It was hoped that a corps of the rearguard might be rallied there; but the disorder was frightful, and all efforts for that purpose were vain. It was 11 in the evening. In the impossibility of organizing a defence, hope was placed in the division of Gerard, the third of the 2nd corps, which had been left on the field of battle of Ligny; and to which orders had been sent to proceed to Quatre-Bras to support the retreat.

'The French army never fought better than on this day. It performed prodigies of valour; and such was the superiority of the French troops, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, that but for the arrival of the 1st and 2nd Prussian corps the victory was gained, and would have been complete over the Anglo-Dutch army and corps of Bulow; that is to say, was gained by one against two (69,000 against 120,000).

'The loss of the Anglo-Dutch army and General Bulow was, during the battle, far superior to that of the French; and the loss of the French during the retreat, though very considerable, since it included 6,000 prisoners, did not compensate that of the Allies within the four days' fighting—a loss which they acknowledged to extend to 60,000 men—viz., 11,300 English, 3,500 Hanoverians, 8,000 Belgian, Nassau, and Brunswick troops, which made altogether for the Anglo-Dutch army 22,800, Prussians 38,000, making a general total of 60,800. The loss of the French army, including everything in the route, and up to the walls of Paris, amounted altogether to 41,000 men.

'The National Guard maintained its old reputation, but it was engaged under unfortunate circumstances. It was out-flanked on the right and left, and inundated by fugitives and enemies when it began to enter into line; for, had that Guard had the opportunity of fighting with its flanks supported, it would have repelled the efforts of both the enemies' armies united. During more than 12 hours 12,000 French cavalry were masters of part of the enemy's field of battle, maintained a contest with all the infantry and 18,000 of the Anglo-Dutch cavalry, whose charges were constantly repelled. Lieutenant-General Duhesme, an old soldier, covered with wounds, and of the greatest bravery, was made prisoner in endeavouring to rally a rearguard. Count Lobau was also taken. Cambronne, General of the Guard, remained on the field of battle severely wounded. Out of 24 English Generals, 12 were killed or severely wounded: the Dutch lost 3 Generals. The French General Duhesme, though a prisoner, was assassinated on the 19th by a Brunswick hussar; and this crime has remained unpunished. He was an intrepid soldier, a consummate General, always firm and unshaken in good or in bad fortune.'

'Morning Chronicle,' February 17, 1820.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM ST. HELENA, DATED 8th OF DECEMBER, 1819:—

I had an opportunity of seeing Bonaparte a few days back, walking along with one of his Generals up and down before the billiard-room. One of his suite informed me that his health, though far from being good, has improved since the arrival of his surgeon, Antomarchi. The latter, it seems, had taken the precaution of consulting some of the first physicians in London, all of whom agreed in opinion as to the nature of his patient's complaint, and the necessity of his going through a course of medicine.

A most ridiculous scene takes place daily at Longwood. Every morning Captain Nichols, the orderly officer, knocks at the door of Bonaparte's house, and demands to see him in the name of the Governor. Bertrand (or Montholon) replies that he will not receive him, and the orderly officer marches off without demanding anything further. Montholon is going home on account of ill-health. Bertrand and Madame follow him in a few months.

An instance of puerile vengeance worthy of the trio, Sir H. Lowe, Reade, and Greenpig, occurred a short time back. The *Snipe* transport arrived here with stores on account of Government. Some booksellers in London had sent a few parcels of books on board, directed to Major-General Sir G. Bingham, and to several of the officers and principal inhabitants. Amongst them were some copies of Mr. O'Meara's Pamphlet on St. Helena. As soon as the Governor had made this important discovery, the parcels were sent directly to Sir Thomas Reade's, and messengers were dispatched to the persons to whom they were directed, who were obliged to repair forthwith to Reade's, and sign a paper, which was ready cut and dry for them, purporting that they had not ordered them. The books were then sent back to the bookseller, to be forwarded from the first port by post, with a view of putting him to an enormous expense, if he is fool enough to receive them; and the Master of the *Snipe* was sent on board under a guard, and not allowed to go on shore. No person from the shore was permitted to go on board of his vessel, and the poor man is in consequence nearly ruined, as his venture, consisting of hams and other perishable articles, rotted on board. In vain did he protest innocence, and that he thought them religious tracts; the authorities were inexorable, though there was a great want of the provisions he brought on the island. The petulance of the little man was also strongly exemplified by his recent conduct to Mr. Vernon. Lady Lowe had arrived at the Castle, and, being slightly indisposed on Sunday, orders were sent by Sir Hudson Lowe to stop the ringing of the bells for church service. Shortly after, her Ladyship, feeling herself better, sent word to Mr. Vernon that he might commence ringing again. As soon as the Governor heard them, he sat down and wrote the following characteristic note to the clergyman:—'The Governor desires to know by whose *ignorance*, *insolence*, or *stupidity*, his order had been disobeyed.' Answer: 'By Lady Lowe's.'

'Times,' April 14, 1820.

ST. HELENA.

(Extract of a letter in the *Star*.)

'*Deadwood, St. Helena, Feb. 8th.*

'General Buonaparte is in good health, and has been so for a considerable time past. I have seen him often, at a distance, in his garden —outside of which he never appears. In the morning he sometimes appears in a dressing-gown and red cap, and at others in a jacket and straw hat; he works himself, as well as all his attendants and Generals (a lesson to human vanity). In the evening he is in full dress, with a star on the breast: he sees no strangers, and disappears when any approach him. His new house, which is close to his present residence, is nearly finished, and will be fit for his reception in about three or four months, if the furniture, &c., arrive in due time from England: it is a substantial building, all on one floor, and the different suites of apartments are really handsome and commodious. He has a carriage and horses at his command, and he can now ride, without any restriction or attendant, within a space upwards of twelve miles in circumference, with variety of hill and dale, but not well wooded; however, all will not induce him to mount a horse or carriage. The Bertrands drive out very often, and the other people ride about every day.'

'Times,' December 23, 1820.

After the lapse of some time, some information has reached London respecting Buonaparte. The letters from St. Helena reach down to the recent date of the 7th November, at which period Buonaparte enjoyed good health, although it has been reported for several weeks (on the authority of advices, both direct and indirect) that he was seriously indisposed; he is, however, frequently subject to fits of despondency, which last for some days together, when he remains secluded as well from his friends as from visitors. The circuit to which the ex-Emperor was formerly limited has recently been extended, and he is permitted to ride and walk in a space of not less than fourteen miles. The advices add that several British officers had been allowed interviews with him, and particularly General Doveton, who continued in the company of Buonaparte for a long period. His Majesty's ships *Glendower* and *Shearwater* arrived at St. Helena on the 23rd of October, and sailed again on the 2nd of November for the South American station. The *Brazen* sloop of war sailed on the same day

for the Cape of Good Hope. American merchant vessels frequently arrived in the offing, and the masters of them continued to manifest a considerable degree of dissatisfaction on being ordered, by the British Admiral on the station, not to approach too near shore.—*Evening paper.*

'Times,' July 5, 1821.

BUONAPARTE.

The following is an extract of a letter which we have received through our correspondent at Hamburgh. We do not know what credit attaches to it, but I think it may be read with interest at the present moment:—

'*St. Helena, April 28th.*

'In the latter end of January Buonaparte transmitted a complaint, through Count Montholon, of a want of money, arising from a cessation of his usual remittances. To prevent in future this disagreeable circumstance, without imposing upon himself the necessity of accepting those supplies which were offered him through the commercial house of B. and H., without his knowing who gave the command to this house for the advance, or from whom it received the money, he ordered it to be proposed to the Governor to advance him monthly 500*l.*, which the Duke of Leuchtenberg would repay to the English Government through Mr. Baring. He desired at the same time that, instead of the two priests living with him, and instead of Dr. Antomachi, Counts Bertrand and Montholon, he should be supplied with other society. As his family lived in Italy, and could not well judge what kind of men would be agreeable to him, he left the selection of them to the King of France, and to those of the King's ministers who had formerly served under him, and knew his habits and wants—such as MM. Pasquier, Ségur, Daru, and Latour-Maubourg, or M. de Cazes, who had been his own and his mother's private secretary. With regard to a priest, he desired a man of knowledge and experience, a learned divine, capable of discussing religious subjects, able to answer his questions, to resolve his doubts, and to instruct him in the sacred Scriptures—a man of between forty and fifty years of age, and a well-grounded scholar. "Although," said he, "I feel my strength decaying, I am not yet so prostrate as to take refuge in spiritual remedies. But, when this happens, I must have another spiritual guide besides the two who at present attend me, one of whom has not yet shaken off the dust of the schools. Voltaire himself, in the view of death, threw himself into the arms of religion; and who knows but that I may acquire a taste for the subject, and become pious?" As physician, he wished a man like Courvoisier; but he declared that he would receive with confidence any one selected for him by Bourdois, Eymery, Larrey, Dubois, or Desgenettes. Of those who were to come in room of Counts Bertrand

and Montholon, he required one to be a General (the most agreeable to him was Drouot); but in no case an officer who had served against him. The other might be either a secular person or a *ci-devant* priest; but in all cases one of his former council or chamberlains—a man of education and talents—such as Caulaincourt, Savary, Ségur, Montesquieu, Darce, Drouot, Turenne, Denon, or Arnault.

'The fore-mentioned money arrangement was undertaken by the Governor. Some time afterwards, Buonaparte said, that the priest who was to be sent to him must be one who adhered to the Concordat of 1802, such as M. Duvoisier, late Bishop of Nantes.'

Morning Chronicle,' July 6, 1821.

The public have been told that Bonaparte died of a cancer in the stomach—that his father also died of a cancer in the stomach—and that he himself declared the disease hereditary in his family. The opinion of Bonaparte, however, on the subject of diseases, will not probably be thought of much value, though it seems to be anxiously laid hold of by some of the Ministerial journals. It would seem to be a great ease to their consciences to be able to believe that the death of Bonaparte was in no degree accelerated by the unhealthiness of his place of confinement, and the miserable life he was doomed to drag in it. We are afraid, however, this consolation will not be left them long. We ourselves can offer no opinion on a subject of this kind, but we understand the idea of a hereditary cancer is treated very irreverently by many of the faculty. Our readers will find a query from a correspondent relative to this hereditary cancer in another column.*

The illness of the ex-Emperor lasted in the whole six weeks; and its effects on his frame, as described by an officer who had frequent opportunities of seeing him during that period, were so powerful as nearly to reduce him to a skeleton, and to obliterate all traces of his former features. During the latter part of his illness, he frequently conversed with his medical attendants on its nature, of which he seemed to be perfectly aware. He declared that it was hereditary, and that his father had died of the same disease. On examination after death, the stomach was found in a state of extreme ulceration, so that it appeared in some places perforated in large openings. His medical attendants gave it as their decided opinion, in which the physician who was called in coincided, that the disease was incurable, and that the climate had had no effect in producing it. One trait of character displayed itself in his last moments, which marks the 'ruling passion strong in death.'

* [I here insert the letter referred to.]

TO THE EDITOR OF THE 'MORNING CHRONICLE.'

Sir,—I beg leave to submit to the Faculty of London and of Europe, whether any one of them ever met an instance in the course of their practice, of *hereditary cancer?* And, if so, to request that they will authenticate such instance with their *signature*.—I am, Sir, your most obedient, A Retired Practitioner.

As he found his end approach, he was habited, at his own request, in his uniform of Field Marshal, with the boots and spurs, and placed on a camp bed, on which he was accustomed to sleep when in health, and preferred to every other. In this dress he is said to have expired. It has been asserted that the vessel which brought the dispatches also brought the body of Bonaparte to England, but this we understand is not the case. His attendants wished his body to be conveyed to Europe; but, on opening his will, it was found that he had left a request that it should be interred in the island, and pointed out the spot where he wished his remains to rest, in a beautiful valley near to his residence. Though Bonaparte is supposed to have suffered much, his dissolution was so calm and serene that not a sigh escaped him, or any intimation to the by-standers that it was so near.

'Times,' July 7, 1821.

The following extract of a letter dated St. Helena, May 7th, contains some further particulars relative to the closing scene of the mortal career of Buonaparte. It was written by an English officer who was on the island at the time of his death, and had ample opportunities of verifying his statements:—

'*St. Helena, May 7th.*

'As it was the expressed wish of Buonaparte that his body should be opened, and as it was also most desirable to the authorities here that the true seat of his disease should be ascertained, it took place at two o'clock yesterday, the day after his death. There were present, his own surgeon, who operated; the surgeon of the Admiral's ship, and five other surgeons; the Deputy Adjutant-General and Brigade Major, with Bertrand and Montholon. When the chest was opened, the liver was found to be perfectly sound, with not a mark of disease about it. The French surgeon even cut it through with his dissecting knife, and all the surgeons who were present agreed that no "liver complaint" had ever existed. So much for the discernment of Messrs. O'Meara and Stokoe. But, when they proceeded to the examination of the stomach, all the surgeons instantly called out, "There is the seat of the disease." It was a "cancer of the stomach;" the same disorder, I understand, of which his father died; there was a hole in one part of it large enough to admit the point of a man's finger. The medical men unanimously agreed that it could not have been produced by the climate, or by depression of mind, and that "he must have died," as Madame Bertrand exclaimed when the appearance of his disorder was described to her, "had he been in the midst of his glory at Austerlitz." With regard to the lying in state of the body, and the general admission of the inhabitants of the island to view it, Sir Hudson Lowe left the matter entirely to the option of Bertrand and Montholon, who,

however, both acquiesced in it, and even wished that it should be the case. Accordingly, in the afternoon of yesterday, soon after the examination of his body by the surgeons, he was dressed in his green uniform, with red facings, and all his stars and orders.' [This circumstance appears to have given rise to the belief, which is now ascertained not to be correct, that Buonaparte died in his military uniform.]

'An immense number of persons, both yesterday and this morning, have been to see him. It was one of the most striking spectacles at which I had ever the fortune to be present. The view of his countenance, from which I felt it scarcely possible, even for an instant, to withdraw my eyes, gave me a sensation I cannot describe; but the impression it made on me will never be forgotten. His hands were as white as wax, and felt soft, though the chill of death was upon them. His remains must soon be closed from mortal view. In this warm climate dead bodies soon become offensive, and, though all the dispatch possible is used in preparing the leaden coffin, it is already time that he was soldered up. General orders are issued that he is to be buried with the highest military honours; and, perhaps, Thursday or Friday next will be the day. He had for some time past fixed on a particular spot, which is also, I understand, mentioned in his will, a short distance from Longwood, for his burial-place, in the event of its being determined that his remains should be deposited at St. Helena. It is close by a small spring of water, of which he always drank, and some time since he used frequently to breakfast under the two willow-trees which bend over the bubbling water. It is rather difficult of access, but pioneers are making a way, and as there is no want of hands it will soon be ready.

'Buonaparte was perfectly aware of the nature of his complaint, and frequently described it to those about him, but was never able to convince his surgeons that he had a just notion of it. In the early stage of the disease, which is a long time ago, he commenced a statement of it, with his different sensations at different periods, and continued it up to within a few days of his death. It is intended for his son.

'It is a singular coincidence that the *Waterloo*, East Indiaman, laden with necessaries for his establishment at Longwood, arrived only two days before his death, just in time to witness his final setting.'

[The dispatches brought by the *Heron* are dated the 7th, and not the 17th of May, as originally stated. Captain Hendrie, who brought them, landed at Dartmouth, but no letters were put on shore till the arrival of the *Heron* on Thursday at Portsmouth, which accounts for the very deficient information as to detail which was obtained of this remarkable event on the day it was first circulated in London.]

The likeness of Buonaparte was taken the day after his death, by Captain Marryat, of His Majesty's ship *Beaver*; and he made several copies, some of which have been brought to England by the officers who arrived on Wednesday.

'Morning Chronicle,' July 9, 1821.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE 'MORNING CHRONICLE.'

Sir,—On reading the account of the death of this extraordinary person, I have no doubt but that many will feel a sort of pity at his fate. But all Englishmen who are watchful guardians of the virtue and honour of their country, and jealous of its character for humanity, must, I think, have experienced a painful sensation, at its being suddenly brought to their recollection that, if they had done injustice or shown the least inhumanity to an illustrious and fallen enemy, they have it now no longer in their power to repair this wrong.

I shall not venture to occupy so much space in your paper as might be necessary to convince some of your readers that the English Government has done injury to the name and character of the nation, by its treatment of this person, on whom posterity will bestow the proper epithet; but for myself I must confess that, when I consider that the time is now over when we could have shown that Englishmen were no more to be surpassed in justice and clemency than in arms, I feel some consolation for our having, no doubt, treated the late Emperor of the French in a manner at least unworthy of ourselves, in recollecting with, perhaps, at this moment a too vindictive memory, how much power, which might have been exerted for the benefit of a large portion of the habitable world, was chiefly, I do not say altogether, wasted by him in self-aggrandisement, and the desolating effects of a wild and selfish ambition.

After the battle of Waterloo there were two men who filled the eyes of Europe—the conqueror and the conquered; at the same time, there might have been one still greater than either, inasmuch as the deeds of peace are to be preferred to those of war—inasmuch as the benefit of nations is to be preferred to their misery and desolation. Some of your readers will, no doubt, smile when I say that this man was Lord Londonderry, though they cannot deny that at the Congress of Vienna it was no insignificant station to represent the English nation.

To the omissions and dereliction of duty that were practised at that assembly is to be attributed the present disturbed state of Europe, and the injuries, wrongs, and confusions of the intermediate time. Such they have been, and such they are, that if the Marquess of Londonderry were, on the purest principles and in the best faith, to endeavour to repair the evil he has occasioned, and to reproduce the good he had it once in his power to perform, he could not do it; the time is past—events have occurred—sympathies and antipathies have been excited, that will influence the fate of nations as of individuals.

I class Bonaparte and Lord Londonderry, therefore, as the great delinquents of recent times, not as guilty of the greatest crimes, but as omitting to confer the immense good that was in their power, on the most active, the most enlightened of the human race—on people of different nations and languages, but alike panting after liberty, and ready to start in the glorious career of every noble and patriotic virtue; all looking with hope and confidence to the help of England, how vainly I need not say! But the page of history will declare to the

latest posterity that England, not by her people, but by her Government, by her Minister, refused not only to be magnanimous to her great but fallen enemy, but refused to be the just and illustrious arbiter of the liberties of Europe, which has in consequence witnessed the multiplied aggressions of the three Continential Tyrants against her sacred liberties; while Genoa, Sicily, Naples, and almost all the islands of the Mediterranean, have more particularly reason to denounce the treacherous services, and execrate the broken faith of the Government of England.

Whether Napoleon, on his distant and deserted death-bed, or the Marquess of Londonderry, in the business and bustle of his official life, have been as nearly equal in their repentance, as in their guilt, is not likely to be ever known. But we shall do well to recollect that there may be Civil and Official, as well as Royal and Military despots.

'Morning Chronicle,' July 9, 1821.

The following is the order of Napoleon's funeral procession:—

Napoleon Bertrand, son of the Marshal.
Dr. Arnot, 20th Regt.

The Priests, in full robes.
Bonaparte's physician.

Grenadiers. { THE BODY, In a car drawn by four horses. } Grenadiers.

[24 Grenadiers—12 on each side—to carry the body down a steep hill, where the car could not go.]

Count Montholon. { Bonaparte's horse, led by two servants. } Marshal Bertrand.

Servants. { Madame Bertrand and daughter, in an open vehicle. } Servants.

Servants.
Naval Officers.
Staff Officers.
Members of Council.

General Coffin. — Marq. de Montchenu.
The Admiral. — The Governor.

Servants. { Lady Lowe and daughter, in an open vehicle. } Servants.

Servants.
Dragoons.
St. Helena Volunteers.
St. Helena Regiment.
St. Helena Artillery.
Sixty-sixth Regiment.
Royal Marines.
Twentieth Regiment.
Royal Artillery.

Eleven rounds of 33-pounders were fired during the funeral.

He was put into a leaden coffin, in his plain uniform dress, star, orders, &c., &c.; the leaden one was inclosed in two formed of mahogany; the outer coffin had plain top and sides, black ebony round the edges, and silver head-screws raised above the lid.

Napoleon is buried in a very romantic spot, situated in a valley near a place called Hut's Gate. I here relate the cause of his choice. When he first arrived, Marshal Bertrand resided at Hut's Gate until a house was built for him near the ex-Emperor's, who frequently visited the General's family, and he (Bonaparte) would very often stroll down to a spring of excellent water (considered the best water on the island), and ordered a glass to be brought that he might drink. Madame and Marshal Bertrand were always with him, and he several times said to them, 'If it pleases God that I should die on this rock, have me buried on this spot,' which he pointed out, near the spring, beneath some willow trees.

'Morning Chronicle,' July 10, 1821.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE 'MORNING CHRONICLE.'

London, July 8th, 1821.

Sir,—The *Courier* of the 4th inst. having stated that Napoleon died of a 'cancer in the stomach,' and that he ordered his body to be opened, 'as he suspected that he was dying of the same disease which killed his father,' I conceive myself imperatively called upon to make some observations, as well upon these assertions as upon a letter fabricated by some anonymous calumniator for the purpose of depreciating my character, by stating that 'all the surgeons present agreed that no liver complaint had ever existed,' and also upon the statements officially promulgated in last night's *Gazette*.

It is stated by the Governor of St. Helena, in his dispatch, that Napoleon died on the 5th of May of an illness which confined him to his apartments since the 17th of March last, and further says, that the body was opened the following day in the presence of five English medical officers (all of them belonging to the Army or the Navy), that Professor Antommarchi assisted at the dissection; and that, after a careful examination of the several internal parts of the body, the *whole* of the medical gentlemen present concurred in a Report on their appearance, which Report, he adds, is inclosed.

The Report states the stomach to have been found the seat of extensive disease, that strong adhesions connected the whole of the superior surface, particularly about the pyloric extremity to the concave surface of the left lobe of the liver; on separating these, an ulcer which penetrated the coats of the stomach was discovered, &c. The internal surface of the stomach, to nearly its whole extent, was a mass of cancerous disease or schirrous portions, advancing to cancer, &c. The *convex* surface of the left lobe of the liver adhered to the diaphragm. With the exception of the adhesion occasioned by the disease

in the stomach, no unhealthy appearance presented itself in the liver.

It is very important first to observe, that this Report *is not signed* by Professor Antommarchi, although the Governor asserts that the *whole* of the medical gentlemen concurred in a *Report* on their appearance; and nextly I assert, without dread of contradiction, that no man ever saw an instance of cancer of the stomach proceeding through all its stages, from its commencement to death, in seven weeks and one day. Cancer of the stomach is a tedious, lingering disease, keeping the patient in torture for months; but here we have the *stomach, to nearly its whole extent, a mass of cancerous disease in seven weeks!!!*

The Report then states that, 'with the exception of the adhesions occasioned by the disease in the stomach, no unhealthy appearance presented itself in the liver.' What, then, was the cause of the adhesions of the *convex* surface of that viscus to the diaphragm, that is to say, the *opposite* side of the lobe which adhered to the stomach? The merest tyro in medicine is not ignorant that inflammatory affections of the liver and other viscera, although long continued, frequently terminate by a gradual abatement of all the symptoms, till at last the viscus is wholly restored to its natural size, colour, and functions. Very generally, however, *adhesions* are formed to some of the neighbouring parts, which are permanent until death. Such was the case with Napoleon, in whom an adhesion was formed between the upper and convex surface of the left lobe to the diaphragm, by the hepatitis with which he was afflicted at the time of my attendance upon him in 1818.

With regard to the assertion of hereditary cancer, promulgated through a fabricated letter by those who had the Gazette Report in their possession, it is too contemptible to be seriously refuted. No respectable ancient author ever mentioned, no modern practitioner ever met such a disease—it is a desperate experiment practised upon public credulity, too gross to impose upon the most uninformed, but naturally enough to be hazarded by those who are willing to impute the death of the victim to any other cause rather than the true one. It is only surprising that they have not followed it up by a calculation of how many years may elapse before the stomach of young Napoleon is to enter upon its parental inheritance. The story is too ridiculous for argument, and those who have fabricated it might just as well assert the existence of hereditary drunkenness, or hereditary murder, or any other moral depravity which may happen to be uppermost in their memories.

I do not assert positively the proximate cause of the death of Napoleon; that can only be known with certainty to the Almighty Disposer of all life and death; but I assert, unhesitatingly, that it was *hastened* by the treatment he experienced—by his transportation to a tropical climate—by the petty vexations inflicted in his imprisonment—by the numberless minute and studied mortifications, which none but a mind like his could have endured—and at length by that derangement of the digestive organs which mental anxiety invariably produces. Such is my opinion, not originating in the indignation of the moment, but formed and deliberated long ago, and delivered by me, *in language not to be misunderstood*, at two different periods of

Napoleon's detention. I told His Majesty's Ministers, emphatically, that if the same treatment was continued, 'his premature death' might not be so immediate, but was quite as inevitable as if it had taken place under the hands of the 'executioner.' To these documents I now direct the eyes of Europe, as the testimonies of my judgment, and to the *event* I point for the accuracy with which it was formed.

Having now, Sir, stated my unequivocal opinion upon the cause of Napoleon's death, which I am prepared to justify before England and Europe, it may not be irrelevant to state a few words about myself, as a *coward calumny* has commenced its work, and I am well aware of what essential consequence personal character is under such circumstances. From my boyhood up I have been in the service of His Majesty, and to every officer under whom I served in various climates and at different intervals I refer without hesitation both as to my moral conduct and professional pretensions. I ask any of them whether he can with justice contradict the following testimony from the Captain of the *Bellerophon* (from which ship I entered the service of Napoleon) to Dr. Harness?

'Dear Sir,—The attention and meritorious conduct of Mr. Barry O'Meara, while surgeon with me in the *Goliath*, calls upon me, as an act of justice to him and of benefit to the service, to state that, during the fifteen years I have commanded one of His Majesty's ships, I have never had the pleasure of sailing with an officer in his situation who so fully met my expectations. Were it probable that I should soon obtain another appointment, I know of no man in the service I should wish to have as surgeon so much as Mr. O'Meara.

(Signed) 'Frederick L. Maitland.'

Sir, when I entered into the service of Napoleon, I did so at his own solicitation, and with the full concurrence of the Admiralty; once in that service, I considered it my duty, in every possible way, to mitigate the misfortunes of the illustrious captive. I scorned to become the instrument of *subaltern* tyranny, and endeavoured to avert, as far as in me lay, the countless miserable, pettifogging vexations with which he was assailed, after the departure of that gallant officer, Sir George Cockburn. For this I was, at a few hours' notice, banished from St. Helena, with the loss of some property, and not without the plunder of my personal effects; for this I was dismissed the service, on which my bread depended, without accusation and without trial; for this I am, up to this day, persecuted and calumniated by men, who have blackened a page in the history of England; for this, however, I am satisfied to endure much more, satisfied that I have sought, though vainly, to save my country from disgrace, and trust that I, at least, can think without remorse upon the grave of Napoleon.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

BARRY E. O'MEARA.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER TO JOHN WILSON CROKER, ESQ., SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY, DATED KENNINGTON, OCTOBER 28th, 1818.

'It is my opinion that the life of Napoleon Bonaparte will be endangered by a longer residence in such a climate as that of St. Helena, especially if that residence be aggravated by a continuance of those

disturbances and irritations to which he has been hitherto subjected, and of which it is the nature of his distemper to render him peculiarly susceptible.

(Signed) 'B. E. O'MEARA, late Surgeon to Napoleon.'

[Copy.]

'3 *Lyon's Inn, Strand, June 19th*, 1821.

'My Lord,—I have been informed by many respectable persons who have lately arrived from St. Helena that it was a matter of public notoriety in that island that Napoleon Bonaparte laboured under a disease of a very formidable nature, and one which, if relief was long withheld, was likely to terminate his existence at no very distant period. This has been confirmed to me by the testimony of the venerable ecclesiastic who was compelled by infirmities to quit Napoleon's service in March last, and who was imprisoned for a week on board the *Flamer*, denied permission to land, and sent off to the Continent; and I have also been informed that Napoleon has intimated a wish for medical assistance from Europe, and that such wish has been communicated to your Lordship.

'Under such circumstances, I conceive it a duty I owe to my country and to myself to inform your Lordship that, as I had more frequent opportunities of making myself acquainted with the peculiarities of Napoleon's constitution during the three years I had the honour of being attached to him than any other medical person who may consent to share his exile, I conceive it would be unpardonable in me not to tender my services to him through your Lordship, when it is within the bounds of possibility that (without pretending to any superior medical knowledge) I might be able to render him greater relief in his present distressing situation than would be afforded by one who, however he might be superior in talent, was unacquainted with the constitution of his patient.

'Your Lordship will do me the justice to recollect that the crisis which has now actually arrived was predicted by me, and officially communicated to the Admiralty. After my return from St. Helena, in October, 1818, a very short period has too fatally verified an opinion which it required only common skill to pronounce, and which common honesty commanded me to promulgate. The *premature* death of Napoleon under such circumstances may not be so instantaneous, but is certainly as *inevitable* as if it took place by the hands of the *executioner*.

'I have further to acquaint your Lordship that, should my offer be acceded to, I am ready to submit to such restrictions during my abode in St. Helena as may not be derogatory to the principles of a man of honour, and also that I desire no remuneration from His Majesty's Government, either for the expences of my passage, or during the time my attendance on Napoleon may be deemed serviceable.

'I have the honour to be, &c., &c., &c.,

'BARRY E. O'MEARA, Surgeon.

'To the Right Honourable the Earl Bathurst, &c., &c.'

A refusal was the reply to this.

'Times,' July 11, 1821.

The following is an extract of a letter from an officer on the St. Helena station, dated 6th May, 1821:—

'I have just returned from witnessing an awful spectacle—the body of the deceased General Buonaparte, late the terror of the whole of Europe. The Honourable Company's ship *Waterloo* anchored here at three o'clock on the afternoon of the 2nd instant, and Napoleon departed this life at ten minutes past six o'clock on Saturday, the 5th, after an illness of some time of a complicated nature, dropsy, liver, &c. The cause assigned for his death by the medical men was a cancer in the stomach.

'I may say I had the earliest opportunity of seeing him, and of being in his company, of any person on the island, and nearly the last view and touch of his body. I lived under the same roof for seven weeks on his first arrival, and had an opportunity of having a great deal of conversation with him; during which time he was very pleasant and agreeable with the family I resided with: since which I have seldom seen him until to-day, when he was lying in the full dress of a General of the Legion of Honour, and appeared to be more like a person asleep than a corpse, and very little altered from when I first saw him. On his countenance there was an appearance of a pleasant smile.

'He is to be interred on Thursday next, at four o'clock, on a spot chosen by himself some time previous to his death. It is under a willow tree (about ten yards from a spring of water, from which he has been supplied ever since his residence at Longwood), in a valley called by the natives the "Devil's Punch Bowl," and at this moment there are 100 men employed cutting a road for the body to be carried along; he is to be buried with the military honours of a General.

'The road to Longwood forms an almost level circle of three miles round the place where he is to be buried. He has verified his assertion that he would never live in the house erected for him, which is finished and furnished ready, save and except some trifling work in the offices. As every comfort was consulted for him, no expense was spared.

'I saw Madame Bertrand and her family. She looks very much altered for the worse, as also does the Count. Montholon seems to preserve his health better than any of the rest.

'Napoleon's death will cause a great revolution in the affairs of this island; some will be half ruined, and others will benefit considerably by it.'

[*From a ministerial paper.*]

LETTER FROM A NAVAL OFFICER HIGH IN COMMAND ON THE ST. HELENA STATION.

'*St. Helena, May* 15.

'Buonaparte died after an illness of six weeks. He was only considered seriously so the last fortnight, when he sent for Dr. Arnott, of

the 20th Regiment. Although every medical man was offered to attend, he declined further assistance, and made Count Montholon promise, on the event of his losing his senses, that no one else should be permitted in his room. He told Arnott he had perfect confidence in his abilities, but was convinced his complaint was incurable, and not to be discovered; he, however, expressed himself willing to submit to any treatment he wished. He stated that his father died of the same at 36 years of age, and desired his body might be opened to ascertain the cause, in order that his son might take precautions to guard against it as much as possible. He must have suffered great pain, although no complaint was uttered. For several days previous to his death he had his son's bust placed at the foot of his bed, and constantly kept his eyes fixed upon it till he breathed his last. I went with the Admiral to see his body, previous to the operation being performed. He looked more like one sleeping than dead; nor had the least appearance of sickness. His nose and mouth I was particularly struck with as being beautiful. The countenance was placid and serene, and there was something very noble and commanding in it. If I had not known his age, I should have judged him not more than forty. On opening the body they were struck with the fat and healthy appearance, until they opened the stomach, which was full of ulcers the breadth of your hand; and below the upper part of the liver a cancer was found, which had eaten a hole large enough to admit the little finger. The liver was perfectly sound, but if it had not covered this hole in the stomach he must have died long before. So says Dr. Mitchell, who assisted in the operation. His body lay in state, dressed in regimentals, for two days, when he was put in a tin coffin, wood head, then in a handsome plain mahogany one, and last of all into a stone one placed in the vault they made for him, where I saw him safely deposited and cemented down. He pointed out the spot he wished to be buried in; it is called Haine's Valley, under some willow trees, and near a spring where he went for water every day. It is one of the prettiest spots on the island. We may now safely say he was one of the greatest conquerors this world ever produced, but not a great and noble character. He had also the talent to discover the abilities that others possessed, and made use of them. He was buried with the highest military honours, and every person in full dress. We had to go full two miles, and the procession, and two thousand troops followed after the procession had passed with their arms reversed, was a remarkably fine sight. We of the procession were mounted on horseback until we began to descend the hill, and the body placed on a car drawn by his own horses. His riding horse was led after it, dressed in the style he rode when at the head of his armies. The sword and mantle he wore when at the battle of Marengo were displayed on the coffin. His being buried in this island will make it become celebrated in history. We are now busy converting one of our storeships into a trooper, and fitting the cabins under the poop for Buonaparte's establishment. They, I expect, will sail next week. We remain until orders come from England.'

FURTHER PARTICULARS.

'Buonaparte may be said to have died rather heroically than otherwise, as the pain arising from the disease must have been very acute, and he never uttered a complaint. He refused medicine as useless,

and stated, a month previous to his death, that he should never rise from his bed again. At that period he also said that he was confident he knew better than the surgeons what his disease was, and that it was the same that his father died of. The pain that it gave him he described as if a knife had been run into his body and broke short off, the wound closing externally afterwards. A few hours previous to his decease he is said to have gradually drawn his hands from his sides and to have clapped them over his breast, doubtless offering up a prayer at the same time. He then released them, and they fell into their former position. During the latter part of his illness his eyes were constantly fixed on the full-length portrait of his son, which was hung up by his request at the foot of his bed; and it seems that his attachment to the child was very great. The last words of Buonaparte have not yet been recorded; they were uttered in a state of delirium, but still show what was working in his mind. "*Mon fils*" were his first words, and afterwards he murmured what seemed to the hearers to be "*Tête d'armées.*" He shortly afterwards said "France," and never spoke again. The head and face of Buonaparte were immensely large in proportion to his body; they may with great propriety be said to be the only parts that could be reckoned fine; his face, fourteen hours after his death, was one of the most interesting that could be imagined, but, from the extreme heat of the climate, the decay was so rapid that shortly afterwards the features collapsed, and at the time that he was laid in state, after his having been opened, the countenance had undergone a total alteration. His body was altogether mean; bones very small, and very little muscle; he was very fat, even at the time of his death. On opening him, his heart was found very small and feeble, and loaded with fat; his liver was large, and one of his kidneys reversed. It seems that he would have died much sooner if the liver had not forced itself into the hole in his stomach, and hindered the ailment from escaping; but except from a slight irritation, naturally to be expected at this part of the liver, as it was in contact with the diseased quarter, it was completely sound and healthy, and did not show the least symptoms of the complaint which he was stated by Mr. O'Meara to suffer under. His hand was rather effeminate, but beautiful. The wounds on his body were as follows:— A small wound on the head, received from the halbert of an English sergeant at Toulon; one above the knee by a spent ball, received at Ratisbon; and one near the ankle, a deep musket-ball graze that he received in Italy. His cranium did not give the satisfaction to the craniologists that was anticipated. A great deal of trouble was taken by Drs. Mitchell and Burton to have a cast of his face and cranium; but, unfortunately, the quality of the gypsum, which was only to be procured from the island, was such as rendered all their attempts fruitless. A short time previous to his death he scratched an N. with a penknife on a snuff-box, which he presented to Dr. Arnott for his attendance on him, and has left the above gentleman 500 Napoleons.'

'Morning Chronicle,' July 11, 1821.

. . . . A short time previous to his death he scratched an N. with a penknife on a snuff-box, which he presented to Dr. Arnott for his attendance on him, and has left the above gentleman 500 Napoleons. His valet (Marchand) is a very superior young man; it is said he has amply provided for him, and he made him a Count, previous to his death, exacting a promise from Bertrand and Montholon that they would respect him as such. The effects at St. Helena are said to be left to Bertrand and Montholon; they are very valuable, consisting chiefly of plate and the finest Sèvres china. A most beautiful antique cameo snuff-box, given to him by the Pope, he has left to Lady Holland, with a slip of paper in it written by himself, in acknowledgment of her kindness; but the rest of Buonaparte's will was kept a secret at St. Helena.

'Morning Chronicle,' July 18, 1821.

PARIS, July 12th.

The important news of Napoleon's death reached this on Friday last, since which it has, of course, been a subject of exclusive conversation and conjecture. Although the state of France and rigorous nature of the police prevents any outward expression of public feeling, yet there is no doubt but this event has created a powerful sensation; and it should be added, in justice to the nation, that all parties, not excepting the Ultras, concur in deploring the fate of a man, whose ambition is but a feather in the scale when compared with the immense benefits he conferred on his country. I have it from good authority that, when the circumstance was talked of in the Chamber of Deputies on Saturday, Members of the most opposite opinions sympathised with each other, while many were heard to exclaim, 'He is gone, but neither his institutions nor his glory will perish with him!' It was remarked on Sunday that above 400 students who had met to commemorate the death of young Lallemand, killed by the soldiery in the riots of June, 1820, walked in procession round the column in the *Place Vendome*, each pronouncing whatever panegyric occurred to him as most applicable to the fallen Emperor and hero. This unequivocal demonstration of regret has given great umbrage, but policy does not admit of its being noticed.

Various reports are in circulation as to the cause of the illustrious prisoner's dissolution; the story of an hereditary cancer is treated with still more contempt by the faculty here than on your side of the water. All attribute the event to its most natural causes; and curses, '*not*

loud but deep,' are heaped on the heads of men who could sacrifice the national character of their country for the sake of persecuting a great man who appealed to, and vainly relied on, the magnanimity of England in the hour of adversity.

The report of a secret treaty, having the partition of Turkey in Europe for its object, gains ground hourly; and it was yesterday asserted that a declaration of war had been prepared, if not published, by the Autocrat.

The debate on a renewal of the *Censure* has terminated in favour of Ministers; so that this odious measure will be continued another year. The discussion has been productive of very beneficial effects, and laid open a system of partiality which is truly characteristic of the present mode of administering affairs in this country. Considerable relaxation has been evident on the part of the Censors, who have admitted a variety of articles within the last ten days which would have been scornfully rejected before.

'Morning Chronicle,' July 21, 1821.

PARIS, July 14th, 1821.

More than a week has passed since it was known at Paris that Napoleon was no more. I have delayed writing till I could inform you of the effects of this important intelligence—I do not mean on the funds, for no human being in Paris thought of the connexion till they saw the idea in the English journals; sentiments and calculations of a much higher order immediately occupied the spirits of Frenchmen of all classes. The rumour had been so oft repeated that, on its first circulation, it was met by the smile of pleasantry and unbelief; but, when the same telegraph which had so frequently apprised his astonished capital of the rapid progress of his camp, and the splendid triumph of his arms, commenced its mystic movements—when official lips proclaimed the fact, and it was announced to the ruling Sovereign —unbelief gave place to stupid consternation and despair. I first heard the truth from a Deputy of the *extrême gauche*, who was warmly opposed to Napoleon, but who had, nevertheless, proposed with others that his person should be placed under the protection of the honour of the French people. 'He had fine conceptions,' said he, 'and did many great things; but, surrounded by *émigrés*, and the same *misérables* who are flattering and losing Louis, it is no wonder that he was below, in virtue, his station in talent, and that he committed great faults. His death may be yet serviceable to the cause of liberty.' Louis had that very day moved to St. Cloud for the season; the illuminations were glittering in the approaches to the palace, and were reflected by the silent and gliding waters of the Seine, when Pasquier arrived. It was amidst all the affected gaiety of the *Advent*—amidst the solemn shade of its majestic woods, and in the apartments still rich in the magnificent proofs of his genius and his taste—that the once servile

Prefect of Police of Napoleon, now raised to the dignity of Minister of Foreign Affairs, announced to his master, who is a mass of disease and corruption, the death of the mighty, active, healthy Napoleon. What the effect was upon the Royal groupe, France is not informed; the next evening I saw Monsieur, his silly son, and Madame, simpering and chattering as usual, and coaxing some coarse-looking Colonel of gendarmes. Some say they are not surprised; that, at least, certain individuals, and certain parties in certain Cabinets, know the history of the hereditary cancer. Others declared that the children of St. Louis are more horrified than ever, that they see in every old soldier an avenging foe, and that, because the corpse of the father is at St. Helena, the residence of the son is a great deal too near for them.

As for the immense mass of the population, the impression on them is more profound and awful every day. I know a gentleman who was in the *Halle au Cuir* when the news was mentioned; all business was immediately suspended, and the tradesmen all retired without making a single purchase: on the Saturday night the bust of Napoleon was promenaded on the Place de Louvre, the guard were called out, and the people fled. Several of my acquaintance heard the tumult. Sunday, multitudes put on black, and others went to salute the Column d'Austerlitz; in the evening there were great crowds on the Palais Royal in black. Multitudes will not yet believe that Bonaparte is dead, and even among the Garde Royale this obstinate incredulity remains. The account of his interment has, however, compelled many to believe, and the effect is certainly terrible for the reigning house. I asked one of the Garde, whom I know—he is related to one of my domestics—what his comrades said? 'They will not believe,' said he. 'Why?' 'Because they dare not; they fear the effect upon themselves. Ah!' continued he, 'I served him in Russia too, and, if I could see him again, I would follow him to the end of the world—'tis too cruel to be dragged from his wife, his mother, his family, and his son, and to be carried to a hole by grenadiers, foreigners, and gaolers.' The tears ran down his cheeks, and the drops hung on his mustachios—but not a muscle was distorted. Superficial foreign observers would be at a loss to know or imagine the state of public feeling, where a person who knows well the people, and the mode of getting at them, finds it most strongly pronounced. A look through upon an object—a sigh in a certain place—a shrug when an individual passes—a bow to something of which a stranger knows not the history—the manner of placing a riband or tying a knot, or holding a cane—all are indications of a depth of sensation which must one day burst through all the mass of spies, gendarmes, agens provocateurs, laws, plots, &c., &c.; and in a country where there is not a vestige of liberty for the press or public opinion, and where agents of the police are transformed into members of every class of society, from porters and shoe-blacks to Counts and Nobles—it is not easy to understand that a certain opinion prevails in the minds of nine-tenths of the people, but it is not less true.

An officer of the ex-garde met one of his brother officers, and told him of the fact. The latter no sooner heard it than he went to the *Place du Châtelet*, and, less magnanimous than his old master, blew out his brains.

The Government has excited not only the horror, but the indig-

nation of the public, by sending out hundreds of wretches to cry the *details* of Bonaparte's death, for a *sou*, in all the streets; and not only this, but afterwards the pretended Confessions of Napoleon before his death, in which he is made to describe himself as the greatest monster that ever lived. These papers are embellished with the crown and arms of the Bourbons. All this, when the Ministers of the Interior—of Foreign Affairs—of Police—of War—were all of them the servants of Bonaparte, and some of them the most servile and abject.

I send you a copy of the Confessions and also—Pensée d'un Soldat—a bold and affecting appeal, just published, and which sells most astonishingly. There are also several pictures out, but all mystical; I send you one. There are, Le Tombeau d'un Brave—Le Convoi—Adieu. All these are eagerly bought, and, without a name or a word, circulate and excite the most terrible emotions.

There is one party less in France: all the friends of the father rally round the son—and the Republicans feel that, as there is no possibility of the sire's return, they can mould the Government and Regency for the lad. God knows to what all this may lead. Everybody believes that his detention caused his death—if no violent means were employed. All wait for Bertrand's account, and rely on that. The Government in the meantime is doing all it can to lower itself. I send you as a proof M. Elicagaray.

'Morning Chronicle,' July 27, 1821.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE 'MORNING CHRONICLE.'

Sir,—The death of Bonaparte naturally leads reflecting minds to the contemplation of his son and his future fortunes; for, descended and connected as he is, it is impossible to conceal the fact that he is daily growing an object of the highest interest and regard. The public, hitherto, have heard little and know less of this *Imperial Boy!* Even his age, titles, &c., &c., have never been correctly stated in any of the public papers. The following faithful particulars of this rising star will, no doubt, be read with interest by the numerous admirers of your excellent journal.

The French Emperor, Napoleon, was married to the Arch-Duchess Maria Louisa of Austria, the 11*th March*, 1810, in *Vienna*, by *proxy*, and personally on the 1st April of the same year in *Paris*. The subject of this article was born March 20, 1811, and named by his father, *Napoleon*, and afterwards *Francis Charles Joseph*, in compliment to his grandfather and uncle on his mother's side, and uncle on his father's side. He was deprived of his title of *King of Rome*, and declared *Duke of Reichstadt*, 22nd July, 1818. Reichstadt is in Bohemia, has a castle and good estate, which is at nurse during his minority.

The Ex-Empress was declared Duchess of Parma in 1814.

In addition to these particulars, I shall add an anecdote which cannot be uninteresting. In November, 1819, the Emperor gave a

grand *chasse* at *Schloshoff*, a magnificent sporting domain about forty English miles east of Vienna, on the left bank of the Danube. The nobles of the Court and and all the foreign Ambassadors were present during the sports of the day's shooting. Young Napoleon, who was of the party, begged to have a gun, which the Emperor, after much entreaty, permitted, with strict injunctions that it might be charged with powder only. After two fires, he was rallied upon being a bad shot, and told that he had better decline a further attempt. By what means I am not prepared to state, but at this moment he discovered the trick which had been put upon him. He now remonstrated with his grandfather, and after much pleading was allowed a small charge of shot. He brought down his first bird (a pheasant) to the inexpressible delight and admiration of the Emperor and all present, and out of 11 shots he bagged 9 birds !!!

That young Napoleon has not only proved himself a good shot, but exceedingly clever for his years, is sufficiently known to all who have had the best opportunities of ascertaining the facts, and the extreme and well-known partiality of the Emperor, and indeed the whole Imperial family, is sufficiently obvious, both in public and private; and it is highly creditable to those charged with his education, that he is constantly attended by men of the most profound talents. His equipage is also of the first order—a carriage with six horses and four outriders. W.

'Morning Chronicle,' August 1, 1821.

The following is an extract of a letter from a tradesman of respectability at St. Helena, employed upon the funeral of Bonaparte. It is dated—

'*St. Helena, May* 20, 1821.

'You will of course have heard of Bonaparte's dissolution, but perhaps a few facts from an eye-witness respecting that important event may not be deemed tedious. Bonaparte had been sick at intervals ever since I have been on the island, but never considered dangerously so by the faculty until about two months back, when he evidently began to decline, and of course every possible attention was paid to him, but without effect.

'The same morning I received orders for the coffins for the illustrious deceased, which were, of course, executed with all possible dispatch. The shell was made of one-inch mahogany, lined with tin, and covered with lead outside. The tin was afterwards covered with white satin; pillow and mattress of the same. The outside coffin was made of Spanish mahogany.

'Wednesday morning I rode up to Longwood, and inclosed the body in the coffins, with silver-head screws. Inclosed with him in the coffin were a silver urn containing his heart, and another containing his stomach, and all the coins that were issued during his reign; together with a knife and fork, a spoon, and one plate, all of silver.

'The pall at the funeral was of purple velvet, on which was placed the cloak, or mantle, and sword which Bonaparte wore at the battle of Waterloo, and on the head of the coffin a cushion and crucifix. The coffin was placed on a hearse drawn by four of his own carriage horses, and the procession' (which the writer describes in nearly the same manner as stated in former accounts) 'moved towards the place of interment, which was his own choice.

'Soon after he went to Longwood to reside, he complained of the badness of the water. At that time Madame Bertrand lived at Hutt's-gate, about one mile from Longwood, at the top of a very pretty fertile valley, known here by the name of Sempler Vale. Bonaparte frequently visited Madame Bertrand, and observed how very superior the water which he drank there was to that which he got at Longwood. On being informed that it was procured from a spring down the vale, he expressed a wish to walk and see the well. He went there with Madame Bertrand, and, after examining the water, he noticed a willow tree growing about ten yards from the well. Viewing it in silence for a few seconds, he said, "Should I die on this island, I should wish to be buried under that tree; and I will drink no water but from this spring." When he returned home, he furnished one of his servants, a Chinese, with two silver bottles, holding about a gallon each, and sent him immediately to the spring for water. The same Chinese has had no other employment than fetching water in these bottles twice a day for the last five years.

'The land where the corpse of this extraordinary man is deposited belongs to Mr. Torbet, a very respectable shopkeeper in James Town. It is now called "Napoleon's Vale," and is very much frequented by the inhabitants. The grave was lined with stone, and covered with a plain slab of the same material.'

'Morning Chronicle,' August 8, 1821.

Vienna, July 22.—It is said that the Cabinet of London, in giving to our Court the notification of the death of Bonaparte, made some communications of an important nature relative to the last wishes of the defunct, and relative to considerable sums which belonged to him, in the hands of several bankers of Europe. It is added that the London courier was the bearer of an autograph letter from the prisoner of St. Helena, in which he leaves his great funds to his nearest relations. The Duke of Reichstadt has put on mourning for six months. Among the papers brought to England after the death of Bonaparte there was a large packet addressed, in the hand-writing of Bonaparte himself, to the Emperor of Austria. It is said that General Bertrand entrusted the packet to an English officer, after requiring him to give his word of honour not to deliver it to any one except the Austrian Ambassador. Immediately after the arrival of the ship, the Marquess of Londonderry proposed to Prince Esterhazy,

the Austrian Ambassador, that he should either receive himself those dispatches on board the ship, or send a person on board invested with proper authority to do so; but the Prince declared that he considered it useless to go through such formalities, adding that, after the intimate relations of amity subsisting between the two Cabinets, he would with pleasure receive those papers from the Marquess himself. They have since been brought to this city. It is thought that they contain the last legacy of Bonaparte to his son.

'Morning Chronicle,' September 12, 1821.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER, DATED PARIS, SEPTEMBER 8TH.

I dined yesterday with Dr. Antomarchi, Napoleon's physician. You will allow that one cannot help feeling a great interest in conversing with a person who has given the last drops of water to such a man, and I therefore readily accepted the invitation to meet him. The Doctor was very circumspect; but I have collected many interesting gleanings from conversation with him, which I give you as I got them.

Bonaparte occupied himself often with gardening, and under his immediate superintendence bowers and grottoes were erected in the garden at Longwood. General Bertrand, Madame Bertrand, with the children, and Dr. Antomarchi, assisted him on such occasions. His usual dress was that of a Chinese gardener—nankins and a large straw hat. Within the last eight months of his life he could scarcely move out, and was obliged either to rest on the sofa or in his easy-chair; he suffered considerably, and was in consequence exceedingly morose; he had lost fully two-thirds of his corpulence.

His last words certainly were '*Tête Armée*,' but without any connexion; for what he uttered was in a convulsive state, and no other words could be distinctly understood.

During his illness his son was the principal topic of his conversation; he never conversed on politics, at least the Doctor said so. Two priests were sent to him by his mother, one an old man (Buonavita), and the other a young man. The first could not bear the climate, and was obliged to return to Europe. Since their arrival mass was read every day at Longwood, and the Doctor said, '*Il est mort un bon Chrétien*.' Bonaparte expressed much disgust at the old priest's smelling of tobacco—he disliked smoking and smokers. He had entirely left off taking snuff. You have seen it noticed in the papers that he sent a present to Lady Holland. The circumstances that led to it are extremely honourable to her Ladyship. Lady Holland was never personally known to Bonaparte, but since his confinement she had been unremitting in her attention to him, by constantly providing him with articles for his table which she thought would be agreeable to him; also by sending him books, and contributing in many other ways to his domestic comfort. He sent her a cameo of great value as a token

of gratitude; it was on a snuff-box which the Pope presented to Napoleon.

In contradiction to all the anecdotes in English and other newspapers, the Doctor assured me that the Emperor (he never called him otherwise than *l'Empereur*) never had any female attendant in his household, nor was any one in attendance on him during his confinement at St. Helena.

The veneration with which the Doctor spoke of him is beyond anything of the sort I ever witnessed. Speaking of Bertrand, he always styles him *le grand Maréchal.* Madame Bertrand was always allowed to enter his room without being announced. Napoleon was quite resigned to die in St. Helena. He often conversed with Antomarchi of events of his earliest age, and recollected the most trifling acts of his childhood: the Doctor being a native of Corsica, they generally conversed together in the idiom of the island, which was quite familiar to Napoleon. The house at Longwood was exceedingly small and uncomfortable, and damp beyond conception; the new house was not yet finished, and it was Bonaparte's intention, had he lived, never to inhabit it.

The library of Napoleon consisted of the best classics, and, through the kindness of Lady Holland and other friends, he had a fresh supply of what was new and interesting every three months, sent to him under Lord Bathurst's seal. Dinner was always served on the plate (*service d'argent*) with the Imperial arms on it, off which he dined at St. Cloud.

Dr. Antomarchi found a proper stone on the island, with which he had prepared plaister, and succeeded very well in taking a cast of his bust after his death. Unfortunately it had been shipped to Leghorn, else I might, perhaps, have had a sight of it. The Doctor had intended it as a present to the mother of Bonaparte, whom he styles *Madame Mère.*

The hair of his head, as well as his beard, had been shaved and sent to his relations, his household each retaining some small quantity of it. The Doctor had a small lock of it in a brooch. I had it in my hand, and confess, and am not ashamed to say so, that my feelings were very acute at the moment, and I perceived something like a tear in my eye. The Doctor could not obtain permission to embalm the body, nor would the Governor (Sir Hudson Lowe) allow any inscription. The remains were first placed in a coffin of tin, then one of mahogany; these two in one of lead, and the upper one again in mahogany: all four were well secured under the inspection of Dr. Antomarchi.

I could not learn anything respecting the life of himself, which Bonaparte was said to have written; but it is probable, at all events, that nothing was done in it after the arrival of Antomarchi, as he declined in health during those two years. Montholon, who came over with Bertrand and his family, has permission to return to France; but Bertrand, who had been condemned to death *par contumace*, has not yet received that permission. Dr. Antomarchi brought over his journal of the two last years' attendance on Napoleon, ready for publication. Several of the London booksellers were anxious to obtain it, and I think he said that he had sold them the copyright. The Doctor, who is about thirty-two years old, was sent out to St. Helena by Letitia, mother of Napoleon.

The point on which I was most anxious to obtain information was the non-appearance of the Doctor's name, along with the rest of the surgeons, to the official report of the causes of his death, and the appearance of his body after it. He was never asked to sign it, but his opinion was well known, as he had frequently declared it without reserve to be that the death of Bonaparte was owing to the climate.—*The Times.*

'Morning Chronicle,' September 14, 1821.

It appears from an article in the *Times* of yesterday that the author of the pretended conversation with Dr. Antomarchi, relative to Bonaparte, continues to persist in imposing on the public an account of the mode of life, and the character of that extraordinary man, during his last moments. Impartial readers, however, will not be at a loss to discover the masked pen from which many fabrications have already proceeded, and we can assure them, from the best authority, that the conversations detailed in that letter are also fabrications.

'Times,' November 15, 1821.

BUONAPARTE.

[The following anecdotes are extracted from a work which has recently appeared in Paris under the title of *Captivity of Buonaparte at St. Helena.*]

Buonaparte for some time considered himself attacked by an internal disease, which would speedily prove fatal to him. He sometimes mentioned it, accompanied with sombrous presentiments. But it was supposed to be nothing more than the wandering of an active imagination left unemployed. Some weeks before his death, he laboured with a spade in his garden so long and so severely, as almost to faint from fatigue. Somebody suggested to him the probable injury to his health. 'No,' said he 'it cannot hurt my health—that is lost beyond all hope. It will but shorten my days.' I suspect he gave but little time to the composition of the Memoirs of his life. Bertrand one day urged him to labour with more assiduity. 'It is beneath me,' said he 'to be the historian of my own life; Alexander had his *Quintius Curtius*, and I shall have mine. At all events, my life is recorded in my achievements.'

A short time before his malady became serious, he abandoned his reserve, and became familiar with everybody. He set a high value

upon Bertrand, but did not like him. He said to me, one day at table, 'Bertrand, it was not your attachment to me, but your love of glory that brought you to St. Helena—you would immortalise your name as my *fidus Achates*' (the faithful companion of the hero of the *Æneid*). A little girl only nine years old, the daughter of a sergeant of the garrison, often kept him company. He took great pleasure in speaking to her, and on her coming always kissed her on the cheek. He constantly provided himself with fruits or sweetmeats for her, and shortly before his death hung round her neck a small gold watch and a gold chain. 'Julie,' said he, 'wear this for my sake.' With a penknife he graved on the cover, clumsily enough, it is true, these words, 'The Emperor to his little friend Julie.' He sometimes amused himself in giving this child a lesson in drawing from the surrounding mountain scenery, with the most laughably whimsical figures and objects interspersed. His predilection for this child is extraordinary; she had nothing interesting in her person, and was in capacity rather below the average of the little girls of her age. The 2nd of April was the day on which he was observed to be seriously indisposed. He rose early and walked in the garden. He, after a few minutes, sat upon a bank, apparently faint. Montholon went up to him, and asked him if he was taken ill. 'Yes,' said he, 'I feel nausea and sick stomach, the *avant coureurs* of death.' Count Montholon smiled. Buonaparte took his arm and said, 'My friend, we must not laugh at death when he is so near us.' The little Julie soon appeared with a basket, and caught his attention. He brought her into the saloon, where breakfast was prepared, and filled her basket with different sweet things, adding a bottle of liqueur with these words, 'This is for your father to drink my health.' One day he sent for a jeweller to alter or repair some trinkets, and asked him if he could make a silver coffin. The jeweller tried to shift the question; Buonaparte repeated it—'I shall die,' said he, 'in a few weeks.'—'God forbid that we should lose your Highness,' said the other.—'God grant that I may die soon—very soon,' returned Buonaparte: 'I am well convinced that life is not a blessing, but a curse.' He then approached a piano, touched the keys for a few moments, producing some vague but not inharmonious movement, and ended with playing his favourite air—

'O Richard! O mon Roi!
L'Univers t'abandonne.'

He often stretched himself on a sofa opposite the garden window, and read with a loud voice from *Telemachus* or the *Henriade*. He inquired one day, with great eagerness, whether an English journal could be procured him. With some difficulty a newspaper was provided. He took it and glanced over it hastily, and suddenly exclaimed—'Ah! Naples! Naples! poor devils—Murat was the bravest king they ever had; but he did not know his subjects. They are all Lazzaroni, from the Duke of ——, down to the lowest beggar!' The morning of the day on which he died he said—'Death has nothing to affright me. For three weeks death has been the companion of my pillow. Now he is about to embrace me, and bear me away for ever.'

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